Death for Association—*By Mary Mostert*

THE *Nation*

May 5, 1951

Germany's Bad Conscience

BY CAROLUS

*

H. S. T. Is Still President

BY WILLARD SHELTON

*

Spain from Inside

Letters from Franco's Restive Countrymen

*

Government by Whitaker and Baxter, III

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

MAY 7 1951

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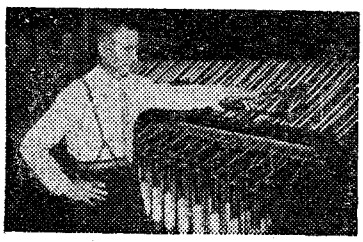
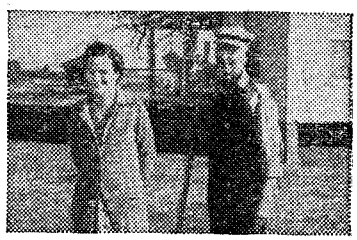
"The bonds we bought for our country's defense bought and helped equip our farm!"

MR. AND MRS. CHARLEY L. WHATLEY OF CUTHBERT, GA. CAN TELL YOU—IT'S PRACTICAL AS WELL AS PATRIOTIC TO BUY BONDS FOR DEFENSE

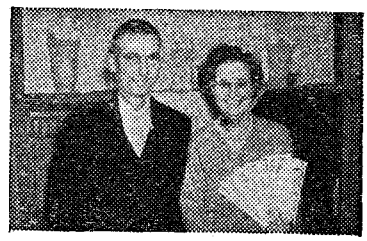
Mr. Whatley inspects a beehive on his 202-acre farm. "I wouldn't own a farm, clear, today," he says, "if it weren't for U. S. Savings Bonds. We bought a new truck, refrigerator and electric range, too. I've discovered that bonds are the best way of saving for a working man."



Mr. Whatley says, "My wife and I bought our first bonds in 1943, through the Payroll Savings Plan at the Martha Mills plant of the B. F. Goodrich Co. in Thomaston. Our pay averaged $40 a week apiece and we put about a quarter of that amount into U. S. Savings Bonds."



"We'd saved $6,925 by 1950. $4,000 bought us our 202-acre farm and a 6-room house. Then we bought a new truck, a refrigerator and electric range. Now Mrs. Whatley has time for tending her flowers while I can enjoy my hobby of bee-keeping. We owe it all to *planned* saving."



"We're still holding bonds, too. We don't believe that anyone should cash his bonds unless he has to, so we're holding about $1,800 worth. With that cash reserve, and our farm clear, we can grow old with comfort and peace of mind. Everybody should buy U. S. Savings Bonds!"

The Whatleys' story can be your story, too!

You can make your dream come true, too—just as the Whatleys did. It's easy! Just start *now* with these three simple steps:

1. Make one big decision—to put saving *first*, before you even draw your pay.

2. Decide to save a regular amount *systematically*, week after week or month after month. Even small sums saved on a systematic basis, become a large sum in an amazingly short time!

3. Start saving automatically by signing up *today* in the Payroll Savings Plan where you work or the Bond-A-Month Plan where you bank. You may save as little as $1.25 a week or as much as $375 a month. If you can set aside just $7.50 weekly, in 10 years you'll have bonds and interest worth $4,329.02 cash!

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

IN ADVANCE OF GENERAL MACARTHUR'S scheduled appearance before the Senate Armed Services Committee, previously responsible Republican leaders last week abandoned all restraint in attacking the Administration. Senator Taft, apparently campaigning for the Republican Presidential nomination as a MacArthur torch-bearer, inveighed against Secretary Acheson, General Bradley, and the other constitutionally chosen civil and military chiefs who are courageously seeking to restrict the area of combat in Korea without abandoning United Nations objectives. With Taft uttering accusations as vicious as any invented by the China lobby, it seems doubtful that the Administration can prevent the committee hearings from becoming a political circus, which will finally reveal every detail of our secret strategic plans. As the G. O. P.'s cry to bomb China grows stronger, our allies are formally notified that they must fear not only MacArthur's flamboyance but also the vindictiveness of Republicans who think they have in MacArthur a stick with which to beat Truman to death. The General himself fed their ambitions with his Chicago speech, in which he challenged the whole political basis of Mr. Truman's foreign policy. Now we have Herbert Hoover comparing MacArthur to St. Paul, and General Whitney referring skeptical reporters to a Biblical passage in which Christ gently reprimanded the doubting Thomas. It is a weird spectacle, a kind of voodooism in politics, witch doctors prescribing ritual healing for torn primitive emotions.

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THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS CAN SCARCELY be interested in strengthening the tactical position of General MacArthur, but nothing could have given better support to his cause than their offensive thrust across the Thirty-eighth Parallel. The drive had been anticipated and partly discounted by General Ridgway. Nevertheless, its timing and its success in terms of ground regained provided the most favorable possible setting for MacArthur's appearance this week; the prospect of unlimited stalemate with continued heavy losses is an extremely appealing argument for the former Commander's policy of bombing Manchuria and helping Chiang Kai-shek attack the Chinese mainland. The offensive also tends to undermine the belief that MacArthur and his policy were the chief obstacles to peace with Communist China. Yet the last word has not been spoken either by Mao's artillery or by the retired General.

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CONFRONTING THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF before the Senate committees, General MacArthur must defend his view that an attack on China would have ended the Korean war and not expanded it into a generalized struggle against communism in Asia. (He himself raised the question as to which he really wants by his comment in Chicago that "our objective is victory over the nation and men who . . . have warred against us.") Specifically, he must give his reasons for believing that China will not meet attacks on its territory with counter-attacks on Japan and Formosa and that an offensive war against China will not bring Russia into the struggle either in Asia or, more likely, in Europe. And he must justify his views in the light of the insufficiency of American—and Allied—effectives for the Korean front alone. It is a painful and dangerous expedient, as Walter Lippmann says, to pit a former commanding general against the country's highest military authorities, but by invading the field of national policy MacArthur has left the Administration no alternative. Now that the issue has been joined, the full implications of the General's world strategy must be made clear. We hope that the Joint Chiefs, within the limits of security, will express themselves plainly. The stake is nothing less than possible peace or global war.

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AMERICA'S OLD PROTEGE, LIBERIA, WILL hold a Presidential election on the first Tuesday in May. Except for a brief interval in the 1870's, the government has been in the hands of the same party, the True Whigs, since the republic was established. The True Whigs represent the 12,000 or so American Liberians who run the country for the benefit of important American interests and also for their private gain. The 1,000,000 or more Afro-Liberians have never had anything to say about the government, which until only a few years ago sanctioned slavery. Free and fair elections are unknown in Liberia, and the government, as might be expected, is notoriously inefficient, with a long record of corruption. In November, 1950, a group of Afro-Liberians induced Didwo Twe to become the candidate of the Reformation Political Party. Mr. Twe was born in Li-

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beria but educated in this country; he is supported by both Afro-Liberians and progressive American Liberians. It is now reported that the True Whigs, true to their tradition of one-party rule, have printed ballots on which only the name of President W. V. S. Tubman appears, despite the fact that Twe was legally nominated. Friends of Mr. Twe say that both the United States and the United Nations have refused to intervene or to send observers, although the United States has a large development mission in Liberia now. Sooner or later a serious struggle for power between the Afro-Liberians and the American Liberians is bound to take place. If this struggle is to be settled without violence, elements of the democratic process must be gradually introduced and consistently respected.

*

THE SPECTACLE OF HIGH GOVERNMENT officials, including Secretary of Commerce Sawyer and Deputy Attorney General Peyton Ford, in imminent danger of being adjudged in contempt of court has led various newspapers to denounce what is called the Administration's "lawless defiance of judicial process." Actually these officials are courageously defending the rights of the United States in the Dollar Steamship case. To review the facts, R. Stanley Dollar in 1924 bought some ships from the government, paid himself a large salary and a bonus for operating them, and neglected to pay the government the $7,500,000 he owed it. In 1934 the government began bankruptcy proceedings against him and obtained possession of 92 per cent of the controlling common stock. Reorganized as the American President Lines, the company prospered, and now Dollar wants the stock back, claiming that it was merely pledged as security. The government insists there was an absolute transfer. Dollar's claims have been sustained by a District of Columbia court, but the United States Supreme Court has specifically stated that there has been no adjudication of the rights of the United States. The government has now filed suit in California, headquarters of the shipping line, to determine these rights, and has asked the Supreme Court to stay the District of Columbia contempt proceedings until the principal issue has been settled. This is not "lawless defiance" but fulfilment of a responsibility. Several months ago *The Nation* noted reports that the Administration had been "fixed" in Dollar's favor. The record shows that the Justice Department has fought diligently in the public interest and should be supported in its continuing fight.

*

LAST DECEMBER AN EDUCATION CHAIRMAN of the United Automobile Workers in Buffalo, James Scheutz, was fired by Bell Aircraft because, according to the Army, Navy, and Air Force Personnel Security

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Board, he "did not possess the integrity and discretion essential to the security of classified information." Scheutz appealed his case to an Industrial Employment Review Board in Washington on February 28 and has been waiting since then for the board to come to a decision. At the hearing neither Scheutz's loyalty nor his membership in the Socialist Party was mentioned. The complaint was focused on his union activities: in the Bell strike of 1949 he was one of thirty-seven union members convicted of violating an injunction against picketing; he had been seen wearing his navy uniform while demonstrating; he had appeared on another U. A. W. picket line in 1946; he lacked integrity and discretion because he "did everything the union told him to do." While Scheutz supposedly had the right to cross-examine witnesses, the "prosecution" produced none. The board, composed of three military members and a civilian chairman, were apparently guided by the feeling that work stoppages, for whatever reason, were sabotage. Meanwhile, Scheutz is suffering from the loss of his job and a damaged reputation. Granted that security must be maintained in war plants, the review board should have the responsibility of conducting fair hearings and then taking definite action to affirm or reject the charges brought against workers who are suspected of being bad security risks. Since the mobilization program will in the future affect more workers directly, a revision of the whole security procedure seems in order.

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IMPRESSIVE SPONSORSHIP HAS BEEN obtained for legislation now pending in Congress to provide financial aid to the nation's medical schools. The bill (S. 337) would authorize grants to approved schools of medicine, osteopathy, dentistry, dental hygiene, nursing and public health to help them meet costs of instruction, improve facilities, further the recruitment and training of nurses, and establish scholarships. Included in the lengthy list of sponsoring organizations are the Association of American Medical Colleges, the American Dental Association, the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., the National Grange, the American Legion, the Committee for the Nation's Health, and numerous other academic, labor, and veteran's groups. The support of these variegated associations is indicative of the widespread realization that the tremendous needs of medical education can no longer be met solely with private funds. In order to avoid the uproar usually attendant on the introduction of such measures, the bill provides that the federal government shall be barred from any interference with academic matters. The real significance of the legislation is that the problem of providing medical care is now apparently being broken down into special categories. Ironically, this tactic may well have been borrowed from Whitaker and Baxter (see page 418 of this issue), who have long insisted that it is easy to mobilize opposition to a comprehensive health insurance and medical-care program but not so easy to oppose a series of measures directed to this end.

✳

TEACHERS IN BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE schools in Colorado have been hastening to certify their loyalty since the discovery, some weeks ago, of a long-dormant loyalty oath on the statute books. One instructor —he is *not* a Communist—has resigned in protest. Perhaps because he was new to his position. Dr. George H. Ball, chaplain of the University of Denver, took the trouble to inquire into the background of the oath and discovered that it came into being the same year that the Ku Klux Klan entered Colorado politics—in 1921. In those days there was little finesse about "loyalty." Governor Morley, the puppet of the Klan, publicly warned that the budget of the University of Colorado would be drastically curtailed unless the Klan could dictate the curriculum and exercise a veto power over faculty appointments. The threat was ignored, but in this context the oath, although not a test oath in form, was clearly objectionable. And to Dr. Ball it is no less objectionable today. "When democracy is surrendered," he said in his letter of resignation, "it is surrendered step by step, and each step will seem to support the democracy it helps to destroy." The power to impose a mild oath implies the power to impose a severe one; the power to impose the oath, not its wording, is the point at issue. For the oath is a test of ideas, and universities have their own standards for testing ideas. Several colleagues have expressed agreement with Dr. Ball's courageous protest, which has focused attention on some fundamental questions. "I am being eliminated from the university," Dr. Ball told his former students, "not for anything I have done but for ideas that I hold. An American government controlling ideas is an American government which does not know its own tradition and which does not know what distinguishes it from the totalitarian world it is now opposing."

[For answer see page 408]

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THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT IN A little-noticed recent decision has taken the first step toward ending a pernicious practice that has played a part in raising milk prices. A good many cities throughout the country have contrived to hand local dairy interests a monopoly of the community milk business by means of ordinances ostensibly aimed at protecting the health of local consumers. A case in point is Madison, Wisconsin, which has an ordinance requiring inspection of all farms delivering milk to the city—but allowing the city to refuse to inspect farms more than twenty-five miles distant—and insisting on pasteurization within five miles of Madison's central square. In considering the constitutionality of this ordinance the Supreme Court pointed out that such regulations are not needed to protect the consumer's health, since distant milk sources may be checked by the United States Public Health Service, and are an unwarranted interference with interstate commerce.

Wetbacks, Cotton, and Korea

THE "wetback" problem of the Southwest is like the magician's rabbit—now you see it and now you don't. In the spring of 1950 the farm factories of the region had a surplus of labor. Thousands of workers were unemployed; families were stranded in hundreds of labor camps; eight or ten infant deaths from malnutrition were reported in California; relief officials were up in arms over the burden that had suddenly been saddled on rural counties. As on so many similar occasions, however, the problem was momentarily "solved" by the appointment of commissions of inquiry—one by Governor Earl Warren, one by President Truman.

The commissions had hardly been created before conditions were dramatically reversed by the war in Korea. Limitations on cotton acreage were removed, the San Joaquin Valley went "cotton crazy," and the "relief crisis" suddenly became a "man-power shortage." Failing to obtain labor in Hawaii, and keenly disappointed over the collapse of ambitious schemes to import South Koreans and Japanese, the large employers of farm labor sent their experienced and efficient emissaries to Mexico. Today 30,000 Mexican farm workers have gathered at staging points in Hermosillo, Chihuahua, and Monterrey, hoping to be among the lucky few chosen to work in the sun-scorched fields of the Southwest for a promised hourly wage of 85 cents, less $1.75 a day for board. But these are only the unsophisticated; for every Mexican worker who hopes to enter legally, many hundreds of illegal entrants or "wetbacks" will cross the border this summer.

The number of deportations—the reverse movement—gives a fairly accurate indication of the size of the annual invasion. In 1940 about 900 "wetbacks" were deported from California at the end of the season; in 1945 the number was 16,311; last year it was 224,588. The total for all the border states in 1950 was more than 500,000. Pushing out into all types of jobs, "wetbacks" have undermined wage and working conditions and in some areas have converted once prosperous border communities into ghost towns. The larger the "wetback" invasion, the less willing are resident workers to seek farm employment—a factor which tends to create a vacuum where none should exist.

A small volume of helpful recommendations bearing on the "wetback"—more accurately the cheap-labor problem—might be culled from the reports of the various commissions of inquiry. And recently the New York *Times* has published an excellent survey of the situation by Gladwin Hill. But the problem is not so much one of remedying specific conditions as of controlling certain factors operative in the economies of Mexico and the United States. Politically the problem has always been how to offset the powerful pressures applied by groups which have acquired a vested interest in the exploitation of cheap labor. The political potential of Mexican Americans is great, but it is not organized and national interest has been fitful and superficial. The present crisis, however, is forcing an "awareness" of the "wetback" problem, not as a picturesque phase of life along the border but, as a complex and critical issue of international importance.

Bevan Sounds the Alarm

CRITICS of Aneurin Bevan both here and in Britain have been very ready to ascribe his resignation from the Labor government to opportunism and to charge him with designs on the leadership of the Labor Party. It seems clear, however, that both he and Harold Wilson, who also resigned in protest against the Budget, have chosen to risk their political careers on genuine and grave issues of principle. They have found little support in the inner circles of the Labor Party or the Trades Union Congress, and, immediately, they have probably sacrificed popularity with the rank and file. For although there is much sympathy for some of their views, sentiment is against their tactics in exposing fissions in the government at a time when it is struggling for its life. Moreover, Mr. Bevan aroused antagonism by the personal attack on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Hugh Gaitskell, which marred his otherwise admirable explanation of his resignation.

Yet when this has been said, it must also be admitted that the resignation of these two ministers may prove to be a great service not only to their own country but to the whole Western world. Their departure from office has not been based on "frivolous grounds" or "narrow

Answer to Who's Who?—David Ben Gurion, John L. Lewis

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issues," and it has served to sound a dramatic warning against the dangers of over-hasty rearmament programs conceived with insufficient thought for their economic consequences.

In their statements to the House of Commons Messrs. Bevan and Wilson complained that the Budget provided for a rearmament program which was in fact beyond Britain's physical means. It was based, they claimed, on assumptions regarding supplies of raw materials which had already been invalidated, and as a result any attempt to realize it in full would mean an intensified inflation. As Mr. Wilson put it, "If the financial program for rearmament runs beyond the physical resources which can be made available, then rearmament itself becomes the first casualty. The basis of our economy is disrupted, and the standard of living, including the social services of our people, is endangered."

Mr. Bevan referred to the recent report of Charles E. Wilson, Director of Defense Mobilization in this country, which envisaged an expansion in American production sufficient to provide all that is required for defense and at the same time maintain civilian consumption at its present high level. No doubt the plant and the manpower for such an expansion can be found, but since there is no parallel plan to enlarge world supplies of raw materials, the achievement of these hopes must be at the expense of production in other countries. For when it comes to competitive buying power in world markets for tin or copper or wool or rubber, no nation has a long enough purse to win against the United States. "The American government and people," said Harold Wilson, "have got to choose between their partners' defense programs on the one hand and their own stockpiles and the level of their own unrestricted civilian consumption on the other. Until the right choice is made, our defense program remains an illusion."

But, it may be argued, is not this a specious plea to the American people to cut down their standard of living so that the people of Britain and France and Belgium can maintain theirs? Actually, if the defense programs of the North Atlantic powers are to be completed according to schedule, there will have to be sacrifices all round. But as has been frequently pointed out in these pages, equality of sacrifice is not to be achieved by equal percentage cuts in consumption. That would be as unjust as imposing a 20 per cent tax on all incomes irrespective of size.

Let us consider, for instance, the question of newsprint, a vital commodity of which this country consumes more than all the rest of the world put together. Yet although many of our newspapers have attained an almost intolerable corpulence, we are reaching out for a still larger share, while good democratic papers in other lands are being put out of business because they cannot get enough to print four meager pages. Nor do the ill results of America's appetite for newsprint stop at that point, for the manufacture of this product requires large amounts of sulphur, which today is one of the most widely used and scarcest of raw materials.

Thus we must choose between maintaining our present colossal consumption of newsprint and other civilian products in which sulphur is a component and seeing the rearmament programs of our allies falter and some of their industries close down. The situation in regard to many other vital raw materials is similar; world supplies are not sufficient to provide for both rearmament and normal civilian consumption.

The solution for this problem is as obvious as it is difficult. Supplies of vital raw materials must be pooled and allocated according to need, while joint efforts are made to spur new production. Discussions along these lines have been going on in Washington and elsewhere but apparently in a desultory manner. Perhaps the resignations of the British Cabinet ministers will impart a new sense of urgency to these talks. If so, we may all live to be grateful to Messrs. Bevan and Wilson.

H. S. T. Is Still President

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, April 26

THE tidal wave of protesting telegrams that inundated Congress after Mr. Truman ousted General MacArthur led sundry observers here to write off the President as a factor in future legislation. "Congress won't give him a thing except the necessary appropriation bills," they said. Today, as the letters and telegrams still coming in show a steady swing toward support for the President, this opinion is subject to revision. The temper of Republican extremists on Capitol Hill is apoplectic, but Mr. Truman, who fortunately has no fear of a political fight, cheerfully continues to send recommendations to Congress and to walk with good conscience in the knowledge that both in firing MacArthur and in providing leadership to the legislators he is exercising his inalienable constitutional powers.

His message asking revision of the Defense Production Act was obviously worded with great care to provoke a minimum of controversy; it asked only for the powers absolutely necessary to complete our mobilization program and stabilize our economy. The farm-price proposal was a compromise: it did not request abolition of the general parity program or ceilings below parity prices, but only that the dollars-and-cents parity price for farm products at the beginning of a marketing season be held constant throughout that season. The President cautiously refrained from suggesting changes in the law now tying wage stabilization to industrial price controls, realizing that almost any change acceptable to

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Congress might ruin the progress toward equitable wage control achieved since he intervened to straighten out the mess caused by Charles E. Wilson's disdain for labor advice. He wisely asked for—though he probably will not receive—authority to control speculation on the commodity markets. There will be a fight over rent control; Congress does not yet understand the severity of the economic stringencies inseparable from remobilization.

Mr. Truman's message must be criticized chiefly for its failure frankly to tell Congress and the people that in order to save the Atlantic alliance we may have to make substantial changes in Wilson's program of guns and butter too—for Americans. One does not have to agree with Aneurin Bevan's outburst against the "lurchings" of America's industrial machine or with his skepticism about the seriousness of the Soviet menace—so oddly like Taft's skepticism—to recognize that we have grievously underestimated the potentially disastrous effect of our rearmament plans on the living standards of our European allies. Eventually the fact will have to be faced by the Administration. But one can imagine the furor if Mr. Truman had challenged Congress with an appeal for American civilian sacrifices while we are arming—a little less butter for us so that our allies might have a little more. Senators Jenner and McCarthy would have cursed Dean Acheson and the "Attlee crowd" in Britain with redoubled vigor. Burnet Maybank, chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, might have fled from the whole Administration program instead of modestly disclaiming responsibility for the compromise proposal on farm prices. It is to be hoped that our friends abroad will understand the exigencies of American politics in the unfortunate circumstances now prevailing and be able to wait patiently, with interim adjustments, until the major issues of our times are fought out in next year's Presidential election.

SENATOR McCARRAN, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, is apparently going to be able to checkmate the Nimitz Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights. Two months ago, when the commission was sworn in and appropriately began its first meeting with prayers, I wrote that it might indeed need help beyond the scope of human instrumentalities. But what it needs just now is a few more votes in the Judiciary Committee. The commission has been delayed in getting to work by lack of legislation waiving the Conflict of Interest statutes. These statutes, which are basically sound, restrict and in some cases prohibit persons working for the government from prosecuting claims against the government for a period of two years after they end their government service. In cases obviously not intended to come under the general rules, the prohibition has in the past been waived by special legislation. It was waived during the Eighty-first Congress for some persons working for Congressional committees, and the Senate Judiciary Committee itself recently approved such action. The Nimitz Commission wants a waiver for its members and general counsel. The bill has been passed in the House but reported "without recommendation" by a Senate subcommittee.

Senator McCarran's internal-security law was, of course, enacted over Mr. Truman's veto last year. McCarran no doubt suspects that in instructing the Nimitz Commission to recommend any changes needed in existing statutes in order to strike "the wisest balance between security and freedom" the President anticipated that revisions of McCarran's precious handiwork might be proposed. The Judiciary Committee can impede his program simply by refusing to approve the bill waiving the Conflict of Interest statutes. Actually, waiving these statutes is more clearly appropriate in the case of the Nimitz Commission's members and staff, who have a special, limited job to do, than in the case of lawyers who, as staff members of Congressional committees, become intimately acquainted with influential Congressmen. Thus far the commission has held only two meetings and has not been able to engage any permanent personnel.

ALTHOUGH Philip Murray is, happily, recovering from a serious intestinal attack, the recurring illnesses of the man whose name is synonymous with the C. I. O. inevitably raise speculations about his successor. The obvious possibilities are Allen S. Haywood, director of organization and of state and local industrial-union councils, and Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers. The next question is whether, as happened when a successor to Samuel Gompers was needed in the A. F. of L, a generation ago, the strongest candidates will kill each other off and a compromise candidate be chosen. John L. Lewis and William L. Hutcheson were the A. F. of L. rivals, but the man elected was William Green, one of Lewis's subordinates in the United Mine Workers. It is generally believed in labor circles here that Haywood's election would improve the chances of an organic union of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. If Reuther should win, union might be longer delayed.

WHEN members of Congress are sorted according to occupation, a good many are listed as "newspapermen." Most of these are actually publishers, which may or may not be the same thing. Blair Moody, successor to Arthur H. Vandenberg, is a newspaperman who has moved to the Senate directly from the press gallery, having been an accredited, able, and hard-working reporter for the Detroit *News*. Apparently he had political ambitions unsuspected by his colleagues,

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for he quickly accepted the condition of Governor Williams that he must run for his job in the Michigan election of 1952.

Governor Williams had known Moody a long time, and the appointment doubtless was partly a personal matter. George Edwards, who was backed by the U. A. W. and Americans for Democratic Action, had been defeated, unfortunately, when he ran for Mayor of Detroit; Williams, furthermore, may have hesitated to appoint a man whose political career has been most directly based on his U. A. W. connections. Perhaps by next year Moody can build a record commanding Democratic Party and labor-liberal approval. Oddly enough, few of his newspaper colleagues know much about his basic political convictions. Since his appointment he has announced that he will support Vandenberg internationalism and the "broad programs" which rescued the country from the depression.

Spain from Inside

[In recent months a number of interesting reports on Spain have appeared in the American press; a series of articles by Basil Davidson in this magazine gave an excellent analysis of economic conditions and the state of Franco's army. But here for the first time is a picture of Spain seen through the eyes of people who live under the Franco dictatorship. The private letters from which the following excerpts were taken were sent out of the country through various channels. To protect the writers, names of persons and places have been omitted.]

March 3

IT WOULD be hard to exaggerate the misery here. It used to be the lower civil servants, the small shopkeepers, and the workers who went to bed hungry six days in the week. Now nine people out of ten that you talk to curse the powers that be. Of course the head of the Civil Guard here doesn't talk, but you ought to hear his wife; she goes on like a red.

March 11

The situation is becoming alarming for that pig [Franco]. Even here [Navarre, where clericalism is dominant] there is a lot of anti-Franco agitation caused by the attitude of the authorities toward regional rights. It started two months ago with the distribution of leaflets written by extreme rightists—Carlists—which said that the regime was bankrupt and that its incompetence and corruption were spreading into every field. Dozens of persons were arrested and some were brutally beaten up. But the police were so afraid of a popular uprising that they turned loose many of the men they arrested. After that there was calm for some weeks. Now trouble is breaking out again. One has the feeling that something will crack.

March 12

Juan de la Cosa [the leading official radio commentator] continues to attack and insult the French and British, and to praise the Americans. Things have changed since the war in Korea began. At first the American soldiers were ridiculed and called cowards. Then came the loan, and now there is only praise for the United States.

March 14

The Barcelona strike was a formidable one, and the most extraordinary thing about it was the way people who you thought were for Franco sang the praises of the students and strikers. They weren't afraid any more to say what they thought. It was hard to restrain our impatience. People who had been in hiding for months, sleeping here, there, or anywhere, came out on the street to hear the news. Now we wonder what those Americans think who believed so strongly in Franco and were willing to give him all the money he wanted to maintain his hated rule. The United States is not very popular here. The other day in Madrid the students greeted the ambassador with whistles and catcalls. (Was that in your papers?) The ambassador paid no attention but bowed and took off his hat, and then the students hissed all the more.

March 17

The priest is telling everybody in the village that in Barcelona 600 priests supported the strike movement. I doubt there are so many good priests, but it is interesting just the same that ours is now so eager to show that he is with the people. He says that the Pope also is the enemy of Franco.

March 20

On the frontier, soldiers and police of all kinds are forbidden to talk with civilians. The government is terrified. Extreme vigilance is exercised to keep out French newspapers containing reports of the Barcelona strikes; in the first few days after the outbreak people fought for the few papers obtainable. One day Radio-Nacional says that all these troubles are the result of the intrigues of the reds and their friends the Masons all over the world. The next day it says that nothing much happened and that the people support Franco. What people? The Falangists perhaps, but a lot of them are disillusioned and demoralized. The black-marketeers, I guess, and the generals who have grown rich by stealing, but they are now dissatisfied because there is little left to steal.

March 22

A neat trick was played the other day in El Ferrol, the Caudillo's favorite city. A monument had been erected there commemorating the "liberation"—a statue of Franco holding a flag in one hand, his drawn sword in the other. One morning a bag of potatoes was found hanging on the sword, with the inscription: "He was the thief." El Ferrol, like other cities, has had to go

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without potatoes and see them sold on the black market, at a huge profit, by people connected with the government. The police arrested many republicans who they thought might have done it. Nothing more has been heard of twelve of them, and it is feared they have been killed.

March 25

They say in Barcelona that the new Governor General, Felipe Acedo, an ardent Falangist, is offering peace to the workers. If he is, he can't feel very secure! The alternatives open to the government are to execute dozens of people in order to terrorize the population or to show "Christian generosity." If it chooses the first course, hatred of Franco will mount; if it doesn't, people will lose fear of the government and the strikes will have been successful.

March 28

One of the local Falangist leaders sought out Comrade X the other day to tell him that he, the local leader, like all the Old Guard of the Falange, had always been in favor of the workers and that it was only a few reactionaries in Franco's entourage who had corrupted the movement. The incident was important as evidence that they are ready to hold out a flag of truce to us.

March 30

After all their talk of patriotism and Spanish pride those fellows would sell Spain to the United States or to whoever wanted to buy it. But they cannot sell a nation which they have ruined. Nor can they export much of anything but hunger.

April 3

Now Franco is persecuting the Catholic newspapers. A year ago who would have believed it?

April 5

A second strike of students in Madrid. Some of the strikers obey precise instructions and form part of a widespread movement to sabotage the regime. Others are mere boys who see their mothers struggling with rising prices and are aroused to action by the strikers' posters and slogans. Another thing is worth mentioning. People our age who lived through the war allow themselves to be influenced by the argument that the overthrow of Franco would bring on another war. Young men of eighteen or twenty are not impressed by this. They say, "It is better to die fighting than to die of tuberculosis."

April 9

I have information from a reliable source that something serious is preparing in the North for the end of the month. [On April 23 a sitdown strike against the high cost of living began in Bilbao, center of Spain's heavy industry.]

April 10

One hears that American experts will help to renovate the railroads, but this has not been confirmed. It would take all the builders of the great American railroads to bring order here. A monarchist engineer told me that of our 6,000 miles of railroad—which is very little for a country of this size—only 600 miles are fit for normal use! "If an American army is sent here to fight against the Russians," he said, "it will have to be moved to the front on the backs of donkeys."

April 13

The *Bulletin* [one of the illegal papers] containing Sulzberger's articles in Spanish has been widely circulated in Madrid. The radio has attacked the newspaper which published them originally heaping calumnies upon it and the author. Now radio and press have gone crazy about MacArthur and say that Truman is a Mason of the worst kind. They said that before when Truman refused them the loan, but later they discovered that he was a great man. The Franco people view a world war as their only chance of salvation. It is idiotic of them, for who would fight against the Russians to defend Franco? I have myself heard army officers say this.

April 19

The measures adopted in Madrid to lower food prices throughout Spain have had no result. Fear of being fined has caused the many little people who sell food illegally to stay at home, and in consequence there is even less to buy than before. The big *estraperlistas* are not affected, since they belong to the government crowd for whom the law does not exist.

April 20

People talk about nothing but the strikes; even here in ——, where there are only a few factories and almost everybody works on the land, the Civil Guard is in a constant state of alarm. It is easy to see why the government is worried. It had grown used to thinking that nobody would dare to make a move against it. But now that there has been a strike and the workers have seen that the authorities did not dare to hit back hard, there will be other strikes here or there. What makes it worse for the government is that the workers' new courage is contagious. They are growing stronger and the government is growing weaker.

April 21

I suppose you have heard about the recent events in Barcelona and other provinces. The Barcelona strike was masterfully prepared and was a complete success. The enthusiasm of the people was stupendous. Everybody was out watching. When the noise of a motorcycle was heard, they cried, "Here come the reds!" If a person went around with a long face, others said, "He has an uneasy conscience." Inscriptions chalked up in great letters on the walls of public buildings in Madrid read: "Every crisis has a way out—even into the sea"; "There is no coal, but something is burning." Morale is getting better every day.

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April 21

When the strikers are counted by the hundred thousand, the authorities become "conciliatory." Last week fresh police forces made their appearance in the mining region of Asturias. Many people were arrested. The following workers were killed: Jose Tutó Suarez, Vincente Fernandez Huelga, and Manuel Roces Fernandez, who was only eighteen years old.

April 23

The radio has just brought the news about the strike at Bilbao. This time it couldn't blame it on the Communists, for most of the workers are of course Catholics. But the radio says that the workers who walked out were very foolish. It is possible that you heard the news quicker than we did here. But everything that happens in Spain is known sooner or later, not of course through the newspapers but through the grapevine.

April 24

Only a few lines written in great haste to get them over the border. . . . This strike has spread through practically the entire Basque country and is so vigorous and inspiring that there are no words to describe it. The governors in Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa threatened the strikers with the most formidable reprisals, but the workers in Bilbao and San Sebatian did not pay the least attention to them or to the new warnings from Madrid. The workers say, "This is our hour and nobody is going to succeed in frightening us." The authorities tried to give the workers a taste of what they could expect by going to the Murgaza, a factory in Renteria, with police trucks and delivering an ultimatum to 300 strikers there: "Either resume work at once or all of you will be arrested." The entire 300 shouted "no" in chorus. Although they were arrested, the people are not afraid. In Baracaldo the leaflets calling for the strike on Monday morning were distributed publicly in the village square while the traditional Sunday outdoor dancing was taking place. The joke these days is: "How is the franco?" [The words for Franco and franc are spelled the same in Spanish.] The answer: "It couldn't be lower."

France: Spanish Frontier, April 24

Just back from across the border. It is really wonderful. They have doubled the vigilance all through the mountains and on the International Bridge, but even in the faces of the soldiers on guard one can see the joy over the revolt of the workers.

Danger Signals from the North

BY LESLIE ROBERTS

Montreal, April 24

ON APRIL 10, the day before President Truman recalled General MacArthur, Lester B. Pearson, Canada's Minister of External Affairs, told a Toronto audience that Canadian-American relations presented "one of the most difficult and delicate problems of foreign policy that have yet faced Canada." He also warned Canadians that "the days of relatively easy and automatic political relations with our neighbors are over" and advised the United States that difficulties would be easier to adjust if it "realized . . . that we are not willing to be merely the echo of somebody else's voice."

This is a new kind of talk to come from Ottawa. Up to the beginning of 1951 it was official Canadian policy to shrug off the diplomatic malapropisms issuing from Washington. Harried Canadian diplomats would sometimes admit privately that the great puzzle was to guess what the Americans might do next, but they questioned the wisdom of putting this bewilderment into print. Then, suddenly, Canada moved into a new course.

The change first became apparent during the United Nations debate on the resolution branding Communist China an aggressor. Canada considered the resolution untimely and unwise, and said so. Subsequently it voted for the resolution, but this did not mean that it had climbed back on Uncle Sam's bandwagon. The new Canadian policy springs from a determination to bring home to the United States that the North Atlantic alliance is a partnership and not a grouping of lesser powers around one great power. Canada is not trying to force Washington's hand in specific cases—I am not even suggesting that this is what happened in respect to General MacArthur—but to create a new state of mind in Washington. If this purpose is achieved, the free world can be congratulated. If, on the other hand, Canadian protests are either ignored or misunderstood, and the United States continues to act without consulting its allies or repeats the pressure tactics of the U. N. debate, the Western alliance may be in for trouble.

Canada's voice was raised more loudly in April than it had been in January in the U. N. After MacArthur made his veiled threat of an attack on the Chinese mainland, but before his letter to Representative Martin caused the

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final explosion, Mr. Pearson said some sharp things about political generals. "The unity of the free world is endangered," he told a meeting of the Canadian Bar Association, "by United Nations commanders who make controversial statements which go far beyond their military responsibilities and create confusion, disquiet, and even discord." The Canadian Press (Canada's A. P.) described the speech as "a "hefty swing at General MacArthur." The day after the MacArthur-to-Martin double play, the Montreal *Star*, perhaps the most devout supporter of the Canadian-American alliance in the country, commented: "Obviously General MacArthur's usefulness in his present role as U. N. supreme commander is diminishing fast."

Lester B. Pearson

Soon the Canadian Press reported new disquiet in Ottawa. This time the offender was John Foster Dulles, who had outlined the terms of a proposed Japanese peace treaty without taking the trouble to discuss it with his country's Pacific allies. The proposed treaty may be, as *Time* suggests, "a great act of United States statesmanship," but it would be difficult to persuade Ottawa that any semblance of statesmanship marked Mr. Dulles' technique. One of Canada's most important business leaders recently described the process which makes such incidents possible in these words: "What everybody else does is Uncle Sam's business. What *he* does seems to be nobody's business but his own."

A report entitled "Canada and the United Nations, 1950," which was recently presented in Parliament by the Department of External Affairs, clearly warns that Canada's future role in the U. N. will be that of a sovereign power prepared to cooperate in the fullest degree with like-minded peoples but determined to be no country's satellite. Canada may have been thinking the same thing a year ago, but it took considerable pains at that time not to put it on the record.

These protests are important chiefly because it is Canada that voices them, and on the highest official levels. Geographically, economically, socially, and psychologically Canada is the closest and most understanding friend, neighbor, and ally the United States has. To gauge the importance of the alliance, it is only necessary to ask what American defense policy would be if a hostile country lay between the Forty-ninth Parallel and the Soviet Union, where Air Age geography places Canada. If the United States' northern neighbor had ever shown an inclination to be neutral between the two great powers on its borders, Washington might well be pursuing Mr. Hoover's Gibraltar policy today, as a matter of necessity.

Here is no European country looking for a way to escape another round of subjugation, occupation, and liberation but a North American nation which long ago accepted the thesis that its own security and that of the United States are indivisible. Here is no people unable to understand the American mind or to judge fairly the purpose which lies behind the tumult of American politics. Criticism from Canada, therefore, has greater significance than tart words spoken by a European ally baffled by American folkways.

UNTIL Mr. Austin began to press hard for the aggressor resolution, Canada had protested only in private conversation. But when it became clear that the United States did not really want a cease-fire in Korea, Canadian patience was exhausted. It will be recalled that the first Peking reply to cease-fire proposals was dismissed within the hour by Secretary Acheson as "wholly unsatisfactory"—this without consulting even those members of the U. N. who had armed forces in Korea. Canada, however, took a different view of the Chinese answer, and Prime Minister St. Laurent, on January 17, asked Nehru to seek clarification through the Indian embassy in China. The answer was received on January 22 and, according to Mr. Pearson, "seemed more hopeful, since it stated for the first time that a cease-fire could be agreed upon in the first meeting of a conference called to discuss Far Eastern issues. That reply was considerably encouraging to some of us." For this reason Canada urged postponement of the aggressor resolution. Mr. Pearson did not argue that an aggression had not occurred but that to pass the resolution when the door had obviously been opened to negotiation was "premature and unwise." Mr. Austin brushed aside Mr. St. Laurent's search for a solution as if it were not being carried on.

The sole concessions the United States was prepared to make—and these only in exchange for support—were an undertaking not to press for sanctions and a few minor changes in phrasing. Canada cast its vote for the resolution for two reasons—to head off sanctions and to conceal the division in the Western family. A vote in favor of a resolution condemned as "premature and unwise" was clearly cast under moral duress. It was a costly victory for the United States.

Mr. Pearson's subsequent report to the Canadian House of Commons revealed that Canada's dissatisfaction with the conduct of affairs in Korea had been expressed repeatedly. "When we began to receive indications that it was intended to carry the campaign to the Yalu River," it said, "we expressed our misgivings in

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Washington as early as November 6." Before then Canada had been given "reason to believe" that General MacArthur's purpose was to establish a defensive line north of the Parallel and to leave a buffer area, two provinces in depth, between his armies and the Manchurian border. When Chou En-lai warned on October 5 that China would not tolerate a crossing of the Parallel, Canada urged privately that military operations in North Korea be conducted with "great circumspection." To all these representations Washington turned a deaf ear. The only conclusion to be drawn from the evidence is that Korea was regarded as a United Nations enterprise in name only.

As to the admission of Communist China to the U. N., Canada held, at least before the "volunteers" crossed the Yalu, that it was not a question of bringing in a new member but simply of seating the men who governed the country instead of those who did not. In September, 1950, Canada refused to vote against the Indian resolution proposing that Peking be given the Chinese seat. Even after the Chinese were across the Yalu, when, in Mr. Pearson's words, Peking could hardly expect recognition from people it was fighting, Canada still held that "Far Eastern problems could be more readily solved if diplomatic relations existed with the government of China."

Canada realizes that the Chinese people's revolt against foreign exploitation on the one hand and corrupt political masters on the other was inevitable. It does not believe that Chiang can be foisted on China again, and it pulls sharply away from any move which might lead to the extension of hostilities in the Far East. It admits that the future of Asia is going to be settled by Asians, not by the West, and the obvious corollary that the West's problem in that continent is to find friends, not to add to its enemies.

CANADA'S Secretary of External Affairs has brought down on his head a good deal of silly criticism from the American press. The gem was the statement in a news weekly that Pearson voted for the resolution to brand China an aggressor because if he did not, "American influence might kill his political career." This not only revealed an abysmal ignorance of Canadian political processes but suggested that Canada was submissive to American pressures. It prompted the Montreal *Star* to comment that such nonsense "may have soothed some happy patriots . . . but it certainly did nothing to serve the cause of truth, or of good relations across our legendary 3,000 miles of undefended border." Canada is charged with "dragging its feet" by writers who clearly have not looked at the evidence. It is described as no longer "dependable," a dependable ally being apparently one who accepts the judgment of the United States on all matters without question.

In a recent issue *Time* complained that not even the Conservatives are willing to "meet the conscription issue head on, though Canada is the only major power of the North Atlantic alliance without a draft law." Prime Minister St. Laurent, said *Time,* "suavely made his case for a painless policy." The man who wrote this either is ignorant of or neglected to mention the fact that conscription was a major political issue in Canada during both world wars, and each time came perilously close to splitting the country in two. What angers Canadians, however, is that Canada's allies should presume to tell it how its armed forces should be raised. And Canadians can hardly be expected to enjoy such cracks as that of the Los Angeles *Times* on the MacArthur ouster: "The most powerful nation in the world has listened to the mewlings of its impotent allies."

Even the Roman Catholics toss grenades at each other across the border. The Catholic weekly review, *America,* chides its Canadian co-religionists for their failure to develop a holy-war attitude, and *L'Action Catholique* of Quebec, the most influential clerical newspaper in the country, snaps back that *America* had better mind its own business.

For the first time in a number of decades Canada's high officials are paying attention to attacks on its *bona fides* as a neighbor and ally—clear proof that they do not sit well. In a recent Chicago speech C. D. Howe, Canada's United States-born Minister of Trade and Commerce and Defense Production, said: "Some of you may think we Canadians are too touchy, too ready to resent the suggestion that we are doing less than our duty in this time of peril. That we are doing less than we should may be so, but I doubt it. On a per capita basis Canada will probably carry more than many of her allies." Pearson has spoken temperately as always: "It would be easier if it were recognized by the United States at this time that we in Canada have had our own experience of tragedy and suffering and loss in war. Nor should we get unduly hot and bothered by all the pronouncements of journalists or generals or politicians that we do not like, though there are some on which we have a right to express our views."

The core of Canadian foreign policy is officially described as "the necessity of preserving unity of purpose and action between the United States and Canada and the Commonwealth nations." This certainly does not suggest that Canada is seeking a way to disengage itself from the many international commitments of which it is a co-signatory with the United States. It probably could not disengage itself if it wanted to, but the point is that it has no desire to do so. Canada's purpose is to strengthen its ties with the United States, not to weaken them. But relations are not improved when the most powerful member of an alliance attempts to dominate it, or when one member acts unilaterally in matters

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affecting all. If the partisan domestic politics of one member virtually neutralize the alliance during months of debate, it is difficult afterward for the allies to pick up and go as before.

Americans must decide whether they intend to allow their own violent disputes over domestic issues to undermine the effectiveness of the country's alliances. When Uncle Sam's closest neighbor and best friend, after years of official silence, feels it must speak out, American policy-makers might do well to listen.

Germany's Bad Conscience

BY CAROLUS

Bonn, April 20

IF IT were not for the present conflict between East and West, so pregnant with disaster for the world, the question of the war criminals tried at Nürnberg and imprisoned at Landsberg in the American zone while awaiting execution of their sentences would not exist. Or if it existed, it would call forth an analysis of the ethical principles prevailing among civilized peoples which would be a milestone in the spiritual progress of humanity. In these times, however, when the slaughter in Korea is viewed as mere practice for greater events, when the nations of the world are expending their wealth, their genius, and their cultural heritage on preparations for war, we see justice and mercy, love and hate, faith and morality, nobility and baseness degraded to mere agents and partisans.

Three years ago an international tribunal passed sentence on some of the greatest criminals that have ever lived, men who during the Second World War "waded up to their knees in blood," as the judge declared. If they had been executed at once, they would be forgotten today and would no longer burden the conscience of mankind. But they have obtained reprieves by citing the laws and the procedure of appeal in the United States and demanding action by the American occupation authorities, although only the international statute formulated at Nürnberg applies to their cases. The crimes of which they were convicted were not committed on American soil and were not against Americans but against the citizens of European states. London, Paris, Moscow, Warsaw, Prague, Brussels, Belgrade were at least as competent, in the legal sense, as Washington, and should have had even more to say on whether justice should be tempered with mercy.

Ninety war criminals were sent to Landsberg, ranging from Alfried Krupp to the concentration-camp officials Ohlendorf and Pohl. They were the last persons tried by the international tribunal at Nürnberg before it closed its doors in the spring of 1948. After that, war criminals were tried in the military courts of the Allies or in German civil courts, which handed down disgracefully lenient verdicts. The shocking acquittal of two of the directors of the I. G. Farben subsidiary which supplied the prussic acid used in the gas ovens of the concentration camps was typical (I described this case in *The Nation* of April 16, 1949).

Seventeen of the ninety at Landsberg had been condemned to death by the Nürnberg tribunal; seventeen had received sentences of life imprisonment, the others of from six to twenty-five years. In March, 1950, on the request of High Commissioner McCloy, Washington appointed a committee to consider recommendations for parole, the members being David W. Peck, presiding judge of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, Frederick W. Moran, chairman of the New York State Parole Board, and General Conrad E. Snow, chairman of the State Department's Personnel Security Board. Basing his action on the recommendations of this committee, McCloy announced on January 31, 1951, that he would reduce the punishment of a number of the prisoners. Ten of the death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment. Krupp and his eight industrialist colleagues were set free; Krupp even got back his property. Twenty-five other prisoners were released, and the prison terms of all the rest, except three, were appreciably shortened, to half the time first set or less.

THE international law promulgated at Nürnberg, which declared that the conquered must pay the penalty for their war-time crimes against humanity and their violation of long-standing international conventions, should have served as a lesson to all nations, and especially to the Germans, for years to come. But new motives have become operative. Certainly the recommendations of the New York committee, the instructions sent to McCloy from Washington, and his consequent grants of clemency did not stem from abstract legal principles and were not announced in a vacuum. Nürnberg was the product of the Second World

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War. Mercy was shown to the Landsberg prisoners because a third world war hangs over the world like the sword of Damocles. The freeing of Krupp and the others is a preliminary manifestation of that war, just as are the acceptance of Franco and the war in Korea.

What was the effect of McCloy's clemency on the Germans? Did they fall on Washington's neck in gratitude? Have they finally taken Western democracy to their hearts, and will they now joyfully hold out their hands for weapons? Ask McCloy and his wife and children about the abusive and threatening letters they have received because the last seven of the "greatest criminals of all time" have not yet been released! The gallows had been erected for them and the graves dug. Then they sent new appeals to Washington to review their cases. The dirt was shoveled back into the graves, the condemned were taken out of the death cells—and now they wait to see how the latest developments in the cold-warm war will affect their fate.*

For months all Germany has been discussing the Landsberg murderers. Yet with the exception of the weak Social Democratic press—weak for lack of funds—and one or two bourgeois papers no publication has said anything about the crimes of the "poor patient Nürnberg victims." Quite the contrary. All the illustrated weeklies and most of the dailies have filled their pages with the most sentimental pictures and sob stories about the tragic lot of the prisoners and their families. The United States, by its methods of waging war in Korea, is said to have forfeited the right to accuse the Germans of war crimes. A "liberation committee" has been formed, headed by a Princess Ysenburg who calls herself the "mother of the Landsbergers." Enormous sums have been contributed. The country is flooded with pamphlets and handbills proving the innocence of the Landsbergers and the injustice of their convictions. McCloy received a telegram from Herr Eric Blumenfeld of Hamburg, a member of the National Committee of the Chancellor's party, saying that the Germans' will to defend themselves would be destroyed if the death sentences were carried out. Pohl, the murderer of thousands, has turned to religion since his conviction and gone in for penitential practices; so in January eighteen bishops petitioned McCloy to release him, "in view of his unimaginable spiritual and physical agony during the years he has awaited execution." At Easter the apostolic blessing of the Vatican was conveyed to him.

THE impression was created that the Social Democrats, who were represented on the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament which took up the matter with McCloy, had joined the chorus of petitioners. Actually nothing lay farther from their thoughts than to seek mercy for the Landsberg criminals: almost 70 per cent of the party's delegation in the Chamber of Deputies spent ten or twelve years in Hitler's prisons and concentration camps or in exile. The Social Democrats have never asked McCloy to remit one day of the sentences meted out at Nürnberg. What they asked was that there should be no more executions in the Federal Republic, which in 1949 passed a law abolishing capital punishment. This was something the party had worked for since long before Hitler. A statement issued by the Social Democratic leaders and printed in the *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden* on January 19, 1951, clearly explains their position.

Seligson

John B. McCloy

> The Social Democrats have never thought of asking for mercy for the war criminals, much less of questioning the objectivity of the judgment passed upon them. Our part in the whole affair has simply been to obtain the statutory abolition of the death penalty and to block the attempt to reintroduce it made in Parliament last year. In principle we do not want to see the gallows erected again in Germany. Only our belief that we are setting an example to humanity has made us willing to renounce the death penalty for the horrible criminals of the concentration camps, not one of whom, as a person, deserves mercy. The execution of the Landsberg murderers cannot bring to life a single one of their victims, and we believe that our principal efforts should be directed to helping the Jews who survive and to obtaining recompense for them for the moral and material wrongs inflicted on them.

When it became apparent that the effort to prevent the execution of the Landsbergers was part of a cleverly staged campaign by former Nazis, business men, and other people who had prospered under the Third Reich to save the Krupps and to whitewash the Nazi regime, the Social Democrats dissociated themselves from it in disgust. They have refused to raise a finger to help the last seven murderers awaiting execution. The only time representatives of the party talked with McCloy on this subject they suggested that he print hundreds of thousands of copies of a brochure setting forth in detail the unspeakable crimes of the Landsbergers and distribute them in all schools and government offices. Such a pamphlet, entitled "Landsberg: A Documentary Report," was in fact prepared later by the Information Services Division.

The Social Democrats in Parliament have prevented

*The United States Supreme Court has just refused to review their cases, and presumably their sentences will be carried out.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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the other parties from sending a second delegation to McCloy. They have deeply regretted that they had any part in the first representations of the Foreign Affairs Committee, in which they concurred for reasons very different from those of the bourgeois members. Meanwhile the party has been working for a law that will assure compensation to the martyrs of the Third Reich. In the parliamentary debate on this measure Professor Carlo Schmid, deputy chairman of the party and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, denounced not only the Nazis for their crimes against the Jews but all Germans for tolerating those crimes. In closing he declared that the state of Israel, which had the moral and legal right to speak for all Jews, had the right to demand compensation.

Since the Korean war broke out and since the West has been eager to rearm Germany, the nationalists and neo-fascists have been growing more militant. For them Landsberg is a means to an end. General Kreipe, the next to the last chief of the general staff of the *Luftwaffe*, now in the Ministry of Commerce of Adenauer's Cabinet, has been assigned the task of organizing "civil aviation"; that shows how the clock has moved on in Germany. As early as 1923 Kreipe was one of Hitler's disciples; he was made a member of the *Blutorden*, a mark of favor which the Führer bestowed on no more than a hundred of his trusted henchmen. But it would be a mistake to think that all West Germans are nationalists or neo-Nazis. Passionate protests against clemency for the Landsberg criminals have been voiced by various church organizations, professors, clergymen, students, trade unionists, and other groups. Perhaps these people are actually a majority, but such a repressed majority in this super-capitalist West German state that they cannot make their will felt. Krupp and his eight industrialist friends, who founded Hitler's Reich and battened on it, are once again the country's financial overlords: theirs are the profits of the Korean war; they own the press and the government.

In Allied circles here it is said that the sentences pronounced at Nürnberg were revised because "new evidence" had been discovered. The British High Commissioner, Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, put it more bluntly. He said, "There is no man in prison in Germany for war crimes whose sentence I will not be willing to consider in view of changed circumstances." Since Korea, many circumstances have changed, and that constitutes the only new evidence for the Landsberg murderers.

Government by Whitaker and Baxter, III

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, April 18

IN THE last fifteen years Whitaker and Baxter have learned more about politics and political techniques than they care to discuss, but what they have revealed is intensely interesting. Nowadays, they declare, it is difficult to get the average citizen's attention for any purpose and doubly difficult if the purpose is political. People are more interested in politics than ever before, but their interest is an "after-hours" interest, something to indulge when they are tired, when they want to relax and be entertained. To attract their attention, you must put on a fight or a show or both. For Whitaker, showmen like "Sunny Jim" Rolph of San Francisco and fighters like Hiram Johnson have been the great American politicians. The rare combination of fighter and showman—a Roosevelt or a LaGuardia—is the unbeatable political type, the type that Whitaker and Baxter will never take a campaign against. To Whitaker and Baxter the cardinal political mistake—the one they never make—is to forget the presence of the audience "out front"; to them politics is the greatest show on earth.

It says in their book that close elections are decided by the independent vote, and that this vote seldom makes up its mind until the Friday before the first Tuesday in November. So they save their most potent programs and stirring appeals until the last—"to sell 'em when they can't be unsold." Their timing is superb; they have an unrivaled sense of pace; and they build toward the climactic appeal. As hucksters they naturally take a pretty dim view of precinct organization unless the client is, say, a teachers' organization with thousands of members. Each member of such an organization has hundreds of friends to whom a personal appeal can be made, but professional doorbell ringing is likely to do more harm than good. Although Whitaker and Baxter beam special propaganda to each of the various "publics" into which voters are divided, their general strategy is to prime the grass-roots vote. To them every American city is simply a chain of small communities, each just as much "small town" as any Main Street. Not much reliance is placed on polls except to determine points of weakness and to

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test different campaign appeals. Baxter (wife of the senior member of the firm) insists that the best poll is an honest and thoughtful reading of your own reactions.

Strange as it may seem, these political hucksters have a robust faith in public sentiment. They believe that the intelligent conduct of political public relations has undermined blind party regularity and encouraged independent voting. Playing California-style politics, in which you cannot rely upon party loyalty or discipline, they have on many occasions had to bring people across party lines. "The key to crossing," as Baxter puts it, "is locating the appeal which is stronger than politics." Both members of the firm are confident of their ability, given a good issue and reasonably adequate funds, to defeat the strongest boss-directed machine.

In their experience, the American voter resents classification and insists on being treated as an individual. At the same time they are well aware that the political personality of the average voter is sharply segmented. A Democrat is not only a Democrat but a consumer and taxpayer; he may also be a farmer, a Protestant, a truck-driver, a veteran, a college graduate, a Mason. While they are careful never to assume that a voter will take a certain position simply because he is this or that, they often address several special appeals to the same group of citizens. In fact, they insist that a voter should be "hit" seven times during a campaign, with each "pitch" aimed at a different facet of his political personality.

In a 1948 campaign to repeal the "full crew" law, which they promptly dubbed the "full caboose" law, they scored the entire campaign to win over consumers, including the wives of trade-union members. Their posters showed a railroad worker in bed aboard a freight car with the rubric: "I've Been Loafing on the Railroad—STOP Featherbedding—You Pay for It!" Few people thought they had a chance against the powerful railroad brotherhoods, with 1,500 trade unions as allies. But the law was repealed, the narrow margin of victory being gained in such labor strongholds as the Mission district in San Francisco.

WHITAKER and Baxter were enchanted to discover, twenty years ago, that they had hit upon a business in which there was absolutely no competition. Professional campaign management was unknown, and "publicity" was usually handled by broken-down politicians and alcoholic camp-followers. Campaigns were seldom planned and never budgeted. Whitaker and Baxter insist that politics is a merchandising of men and measures, but they explain that, unlike sales campaigns, political campaigns are carried on under combat conditions; there is a definite opposition, a limited time, and the outcome is decisive.

The firm manages a campaign for a negotiated fee, plus expenses, and handles all disbursements. The campaign is carefully budgeted, and the auditing is exact; a deficit would be unthinkable. Printing goes to the firm that offers the lowest price and the best service. Thorough research is devoted to media, issues, and "markets." Although each campaign poses separate problems, some fifty standard procedures simplify the planning. When they get a new job, Whitaker and Baxter usually leave the office and "hibernate" for a week, evolving a theme and a plan. Once the theme has been selected and the plan worked out, they prepare, with equal care, an opposition plan. Having fought it out, so to speak, on the basis of these plans, they then prepare a new plan. Every speech, every poster, every pamphlet must emphasize and develop the theme.

The Lapham recall campaign illustrates their ingenuity with themes. With no "enemy" to attack—the issue was simply should the Mayor be recalled—it was difficult to get Lapham off the defensive. So they improvised an enemy, a composite of the anonymous, sinister characters behind the recall, and to this extravagantly vicious invention they gave the name "the Faceless One." Before the campaign was over, San Franciscans had been pumped so full of sound and fury that they would have lynched this faceless brute if they could have laid hands on him.

Whitaker and Baxter insist that the best copywriter has the best chance to win an election. But as Baxter puts it, "words that lean on the mind are no good; they must dent it." Hence their insistence on "fighting prose" with broad Hearstian rhythms. Baxter has been known to hold up a campaign for a week or more until just the right "twist" could be given a form letter or pamphlet. Political copy, they say, must be brief enough to be read, dramatic enough to create sentiment, and sound enough to produce action. In their rare public appearances, and still rarer moments of self-revelation, they always talk about the importance of colorful, dramatic, picture-building words. One of their coined words is "squandermania." Their Rule No. 10 reads: "More Americans Like Corn Than Caviar."

That a business like Whitaker and Baxter's should have first emerged in California is understandable. Notoriously lacking in political stability, with a constant influx of new voters, with no machines or bosses, California was the ideal place for "professionalism" to develop. The political moguls had to have some new system of political control to offset the dangerous chain-reactions which could be set in motion under such conditions. But the basic explanation for "professionalism" in California politics is to be found in the state's penchant for direct legislation. The initiative, referendum, and recall have been used since 1911 and are still the people's favorite political toys. It takes about 204,672 signatures to put an issue on the ballot, and the going professional fee to obtain them is about $120,000. But

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a mass organization—a pension group, a combination of unions, a fraternal organization, an association of teachers—can gather the requisite number of signatures quickly and cheaply. As a result, the people keep putting measures on the ballot and the "interests" keep defeating them—or most of them. This situation has naturally made politics a major industry in the state.

In the past big money had to be spent to defeat popular initiative measures, and the "interests" growled about the follies of direct legislation and "mobocracy." But under the careful tutelage of Whitaker and Baxter they have come to see that with professional campaign management they can seize the weapons of direct legislation and use them against the people. Public-relations campaigns can create such a volume of "sentiment" for or against a measure that most legislators will be compelled "to go along." This avoids the involvement with lobbyists, and the necessity of dabbling in campaigns for or against 120 California legislators.

THERE is more to Whitaker and Baxter as a political phenomenon than the fact that the firm has invented some new techniques. Actually changes in American politics have produced Whitaker and Baxter. Modern media of mass communication have undercut the boss, the machine, and the lobbyist and at the same time greatly increased the cost of political campaigning. It costs as much to publicize a ballot issue in California today as it did not so many years ago to elect a governor. These mounting costs have created a demand for strict budgeting and professional management. But the more the mass media are used, the sharper become the average citizen's perceptions. Amusingly enough, therefore, the more that is spent on public relations, the more sophisticated the people grow and the more it costs to fool them.

As a result of this expensive flattery the size of the voting public has greatly increased, which again has increased costs. Here, for example, is Whitaker's specification of what it took to reach 4,500,000 registered voters in California in 1948: 10,000,000 pamphlets and leaflets; postcards mailed directly to 4,500,000 voters; 50,000 letters to key individuals and officers of organizations; 70,000 inches of newspaper display advertising; 3,000 radio spot announcements to 109 stations; 12 fifteen-minute radio programs; theater slides and trailers in 160 theaters playing to nearly 2,000,000 people every week; 1,000 twenty-four-sheet billboards; 18,000 smaller posters; thousands of speeches; sound trucks; cartoons; television programs; intensive newspaper publicity; some sky-writing; and, if the stations would only permit it, singing political commercials!

This is not the whole story. Until about 1896 political control was in the hands of a ruling class, with the people holding a veto power which, under sufficient provocation, they would exercise from time to time. Since then the initiative has gradually passed to the people and the veto power to the special-interest groups. The current emphasis on public relations, in industry, labor, and politics, merely reflects a growing awareness of the public's power. Nowadays public opinion can be managed but cannot be safely flouted. Power is increasingly exercised by veto groups—veterans, farmers, labor, the professions, various ethnic or religious or racial groups, trade associations, and so forth.

Since this development has been telescoped in California, it can be seen there very clearly. In the old days people lobbied the Southern Pacific's machine in Sacramento, for the Southern Pacific bossed the state. In 1910 the Southern Pacific machine was apparently ousted; actually the company withdrew from political commitments which had become arduous and unnecessary, since it already had about everything it needed in the way of political favors. Then a so-called "new lobby" emerged, representing various "veto" groups. This development reached its peak in the 1930's, when a single lobbyist, Artie Samish, became the supreme boss of all lobbies. Too much competition among veto groups can, of course, jeopardize the system of lobby-control; hence Mr. Samish. As the level of political awareness has risen, the veto groups have been compelled to shift from the defensive to the offensive and to deal directly with the people and not with their representatives. Hence Whitaker and Baxter.

Whitaker has a boundless admiration for Lincoln's genius in political public relations, particularly his gift for epigrammatic statement, his ability to say things in a way that commanded maximum attention in an age lacking mass media of communication. Whitaker often quotes these words of Lincoln's: "Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it, nothing can succeed. He who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes or decisions possible or impossible to execute."

In labor and liberal circles in California people hiss when Whitaker and Baxter are mentioned, but it must be acknowledged that they know how to reach the people. True, they have had lots of money to spend; but their opponents have not always been broke, either. Labor spent almost the same amount, dollar for dollar, to enact Proposition 13 in 1948 that Whitaker and Baxter spent to defeat it, and labor had much the best of the issue on its merits. In their scorn of polls, in their conviction that they can change votes, and in their eagerness to take an issue directly to the people, Whitaker and Baxter have shown how to lift the level of political understanding even if their campaigns have not always contributed to this end.

Expert political management has its dangers, but in

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the long run they are probably not so great as those of the old dispensation. Ultimately the people learn from their mistakes, and already they have begun to take over the management of political affairs from hirelings they never appointed. Whitaker and Baxter may discover sometime that as Lincoln also said, "you can fool all the people some of the time; you can even fool some of the people all the time; but you can't fool all of the people all the time."

Death for Association

BY MARY MOSTERT

ON MAY 8 Willie McGee will die in the electric chair for the alleged rape of a white woman in Laurel, Mississippi. He has had three trials, but a great many people, white and Negro, still feel that Willie McGee was accused of one thing and found guilty of something entirely different. The facts in the case have long since been buried in a political-racial mud-slinging contest. After the Civil Rights Congress, a so-called Communist-front organization, took up the fight, people seemed no longer to care about any evidence presented by either prosecution or defense.

What actually are the facts? On November 2, 1945, according to the prosecution, Willie McGee entered the woman's house in the dead of night and raped her. McGee's fingerprints in the room and the woman's statement were apparently the main support of the prosecution's case. It was established that the woman's husband and children were asleep in the adjoining room; the woman did not call out because she did not want to wake the children. The defense maintains that there was an entirely voluntary relationship between Willie and the woman for more than three years. The woman was supposed to have sent McGee a note asking him for a date when she was buying gasoline at the filling station where he worked. McGee states he complied with her wishes but finally decided to break off the affair and be faithful to his wife and four children. According to the defense, the woman never underwent a medical examination in order to establish rape.

Many questions are left unanswered by both sides, but certainly there seems pitifully little evidence to warrant taking a man's life. Probably no one except those directly involved will ever know the true story. Most people seem to think that McGee is not guilty of rape but at worst of seduction, perhaps with the woman doing the seducing. Of course in the minds of professional Southerners there is no such thing as a voluntary sex relation between a Negro man and a white woman—any relation at all, to them, is rape.

MARY MOSTERT is a Southern social worker.

In spite of the strong feeling about the case, individuals and organizations that are usually vitally interested in such matters have had little to say. A Negro leader has explained why: "This case would warrant the support of the general public, but because the Communists are connected with it, the people are afraid to say anything." A white newspaperman has written: "Communist support has just about sent McGee to the chair. Governor Wright is a very stubborn man, and now he is determined to see McGee burn." The fact that many non-Communists also believe McGee innocent has been conveniently ignored.

The frightening thing about the Willie McGee case is not that a man has been sentenced to die for a crime which he may not have committed. It is not that McGee, by flouting a color taboo, brought down on himself the unequal justice of an unfair, undemocratic system. It is not that no white man has ever been executed in Mississippi for the crime for which McGee will die; or that if the man had been white and the woman black, the case would probably never have got into the courts. The new and most dangerous element is the conviction by association. As one Mississippian put it, "I don't think McGee is guilty of rape, but since he is hooked up with the Communists I don't think he ought to be given another trial." Willie McGee was convicted because he was black and supported by Communists, not on any conclusive evidence.

Editorials in the white press say that anyone who "assists the Communists in trying to save Willie McGee helps the Communist cause." They do not speak of the guilt or innocence of the man. According to a prominant Negro editor, many Negroes, feeling frustrated, unsettled, and confused by such treatment, fall "easy prey to Communist propaganda."

The life or death of Willie McGee, for all practical purposes, is no longer an issue, but the trial has left bitterness and restlessness in the Negro community which will long remain as issues. Negro leaders who for many years have worked for better understanding between the races believe that the Negroes are more unhappy over their position than ever before. The case of Willie McGee has left an ugly scar.

What are we doing to ourselves? In a hysterical attempt to stamp out communism are we creating the very conditions on which communism thrives? Are we completely ignoring our own basic principles and allowing our courts to pass judgment on the basis of race, color, lawyers employed, religious or political affiliation? Now is the time that we should show the world, our minority groups, and especially ourselves that we have some faith in our democracy. By refusing men like Willie McGee fair trial because of their race or their political association, we do not stop communism, we promote it.

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Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Driver Always Pays

THE seasonal upswing in highway traffic finds more motor vehicles on the roads than ever before. At the end of 1950, according to the Automobile Manufacturers' Association, total registrations were approaching 48,500,000, an increase of nearly 4,000,000 since the end of 1949, and the continued high output of the industry in the past four months probably means a net increase of at least another million.

Those of us who travel the highways this summer had better be prepared, therefore, for plenty of traffic jams, particularly in the neighborhood of large cities. We are also likely to experience many stretches of bumpy surface, but delays and detours due to road construction will not be as frequent as they should be, for progress in modernizing the highway system is lagging far behind the growth of traffic.

About two years ago an inquiry made by the Congressional Committee on the Economic Report showed that an expenditure of some $55 billion would be required by 1960 to bring the nation's roads to acceptable standards. Adding the cost of maintenance, amounting to at least $1 billion a year, this would mean an annual expenditure of $6 billion without allowing for recent increases in costs. However, in 1950, according to the Department of Commerce, total expenditure on highway construction was only $2.2 billion. As there seems little likelihood that the federal government, the states, or the local authorities, which share responsibility for the highway system, will be able to appropriate larger sums for this purpose in the near future, the gap between traffic needs and facilities seems bound to grow wider.

Moreover, the authors of a new monograph* point out, "the magnitude of the highway financing problem is not adequately reflected by comparing total needs with total revenues. What makes the problem more difficult is that highway needs are concentrated on particular segments of the highway system, whereas restrictions governing the expenditure of highway funds ordinarily make it impossible to concentrate highway construction activities where the needs are greatest. Restrictions . . . take the form of legal formulas governing the allocation of funds, which in turn are the result of political pressures for state-wide distribution of available revenues."

In plainer language, voters in rural areas, who are over-represented in most state legislatures, have been able to obtain for upkeep and construction of local roads an unduly large share of state highway funds. On these roads, where traffic density is very low, expenditure per vehicle mile is much higher than on the main roads, where a large part of the highway revenue is generated. Thus the little-used local roads are relatively in a better position than the congested through highways.

The authors of the monograph illustrate this point by reference to the interstate system of trunk roads, which account for only about 1 per cent of the total road and street mileage of the country but accommodate 15 per cent of the traffic. To bring this system up to currently accepted standards would cost over $11 billion, but under present allocation arrangements only $75 million a year in federal funds, matched by an equal amount of state funds, is being assigned to the system.

Faced with this situation, an increasing number of states are considering toll roads as a means of solving their worst traffic problems. Already there are 424 miles of main routes in five states on which tolls are collected, 350 more miles are under construction, and 1,200 miles have been authorized or planned. The longest of these toll roads is the Pennsylvania Turnpike, which when its western extension is finished will stretch right across the state, a total distance of 327 miles. Since the first section of this highway was opened in 1940, traffic and revenues have steadily expanded, except during three war years, and it is now earning enough to cover interest and amortization charges with an ample margin. So too is the forty-four-mile Maine Turnpike, which provides an alternative to congested U. S. Route 1 between the New Hampshire border and Portland. Many private car-owners obviously find it worth while to pay tolls averaging 1 to 1½ cents a mile—equivalent to an extra gasoline tax of 15 to 22 cents a gallon—for the sake of greater speed, safety, and fuel economy.

Yet while I agree with Messrs. Owen and Dearing that under present circumstances toll roads may help to relieve some traffic bottlenecks, they are, I feel, a *pis aller* and no real solution for our highway problems. Only on a limited number of routes is there likely to be enough traffic to make them self-supporting and then only as long as alternative free roads are left unimproved. Thus in the case of toll roads financed by borrowing on the general credit of the state, there will be a temptation to neglect parallel facilities. And when, as in the case of the Pennsylvania Turnpike, bonds are sold solely on the security of the toll revenues—a more expensive method—representatives of the bondholders may bring pressure to bear to prevent modernization of alternative routes. The fact is that to insure its financial success a toll road needs some degree of monopoly, and long ago this country decided that highway monopolies were contrary to the public interest. I think that principle still holds.

*"Toll Roads and the Problem of Highway Modernization." By Wilfred Owen and Charles L. Dearing. The Brookings Institution. $2.50.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

WE CALL THEM THE BRAVE

who likely were reluctant to be brave.
Sitting by a slow fire on a waste
of snow, I would last about an hour.
Better not euphemize the grave.

In this fashionable town, endearments are the mode
though generals are appraised—not praised—
and one is not forced to walk about
where a muddy slough serves as a road.

"What are these shadows barely
visible, which radar fails to scan?"
ships "keeping distance on the gentle swell."
And "what is a free world ready

to do, for what it values most?"
bestow little discs the bereaved may touch?
Can I ever forget it even when dead—
that congressionally honored ghost

mourned by a friend whose shoulder sags—
weeping on the shoulder of another
for another; with another sitting near,
filling out casualty-tags.

What of it? We call them the brave
perhaps? Yes; what if the time should come
when no one will fight for anything
and there's nothing of worth to save.

MARIANNE MOORE

ARTHUR MILLER BOWDLERIZES IBSEN

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

SELF-STYLED "realists" of both the right and the left sometimes maintain that all "tolerance" is a fraud. No one, they say, really believes in "free speech" except on topics concerning which he is indifferent: if most people believe in the freedom of religion, that merely means that most people don't take religion very seriously. There are always "limits to free speech," and legitimate freedom is always assumed to end where actual concern begins. For Catholics, therefore, it ends this side of "blasphemy"; for the patriot, this side the "attack on our liberties"; for the Jew, this side of "anti-Semitism"; and so on.

With these "realists" we at least know where we stand. Though they may some day abolish our liberties, it is not because of them that these same liberties are in some danger of imperceptibly withering away in an atmosphere of sweet reasonableness. But God save us from our friends, among whom are both the supersensitive political democrats and, no less dangerous, those who illiberally protect us from the dangers of illiberality by suppressing one "illiberal" story in a translation of the "Canterbury Tales" or banning a movie in which the villain is a Jew. "The Miracle" is at least as "blasphemous" as "Oliver Twist" is "anti-Semitic."

The most curiously naive and self-satirizing recent example of timorous liberal-illiberality is furnished by Arthur Miller's version of "An Enemy of the People"* and especially by the adapter's preface, in which he seems to be innocently unaware of the comedy of his own procedure. The censored scene is the climactic one in which Dr. Stockmann, beside himself with rage, scatters heresies all over the place and denounces all "the damned compact majorities"—especially those which call themselves "liberal." Truths, he says, in what is probably the most famous single passage in the play, grow old, and they are not usually accepted by the majority until they are already decrepit. The weak always outnumber the strong, the stupid always outnumber the wise. Therefore majority rule means rule by the inferior, and that is obvious nonsense.

All this, complains Mr. Miller, has been wrongly interpreted to prove that Ibsen was some kind of fascist. He did not really mean what Dr. Stockmann is made to say, and in order to protect him from misinterpretation Mr. Miller cuts the very heart out of the scene, substituting for most of Stockmann's dangerous outburst a few correct, liberal platitudes. The present version, Mr. Miller suggests, represents more accurately what Ibsen really thought. But that, it will seem to some, involves a rather large liberty on Mr. Miller's part.

After all, this is a play about free speech as a right and as a duty. Yet it is precisely of that right that Dr. Stockmann is deprived and on the mealy-mouthed pretext that he didn't really mean what he said or, at least, that he would not have meant it if he had had the advantage of Mr. Miller's experience with developments in totalitarian countries. But the question is not one of the impetuous Doctor's knowledge, or wisdom, or virtue. The question is purely one of his right to say what, at the moment, he wanted to say.

In one of the first paragraphs of Mr. Miller's preface we are told that Ibsen exhibits a quality which "lies at the very center of his force. . . . It is his insistence, his utter conviction, that he is going to say what he has to say, and that the audience, by God, is going to listen." But Mr. Miller, having delivered himself of this ringing statement, proceeds to see to it that, by God, this

*Viking Press. $2.50.

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is exactly what Ibsen will not be permitted to do. Instead, Dr. Stockmann is admonished somewhat after this fashion: "Now, now, my dear sir, you are really going too far! When you have had a little more experience of the world you will realize how wrong and, especially, how ill-advised such statements are. You seem to be determined to make yourself an Enemy of the People, and so—entirely in your own interests you understand—I am going to save you from saying something which you would regret." And that, of course, is what the Damned Compact Majority said to Ibsen himself.

Yours, Mr. Miller, is a very pretty play. Perhaps it is also wiser and more truly liberal than the play on which it is based. But you mustn't call it Ibsen. And I rather doubt your assumption that Ibsen would thank you, or anybody else who took out of the mouth of one of his characters an opinion which he had put into it, even though that sentiment is offensive to the most enlightened liberal thought. Next to offending conservatives, there was nothing Ibsen enjoyed more than offending liberals, and I strongly suspect that if he were alive today what you would get from him would not be the blessing you expect but the baste you do not.

He was a peppery old fellow, and a legend which ought to be true reports that his dying speech consisted of only one word: "Nevertheless—". Of that word his plays are full, for his was a neverthelessing mind, and he did not want the neverthelesses taken out. Indeed, the principal point of "The Wild Duck" seems to be that a Gregers Werle is what you get when you remove from an Ibsenite that indispensable adversative; and the new version of "An Enemy of the People" seems to have been written by a Gregers Werle rather than by an Ibsen.

Of course I do not believe for a moment that Ibsen was a fascist or even that Dr. Stockmann believed simply and literally what, exasperated to fury, he is made to say. The play is, or was, a comedy, not simply a sermon, and its hero is a comic hero, not simply a mouthpiece. Perhaps Mr. Miller himself never says more than he means, but as a dramatist he ought to realize that other people sometimes do. What Dr. Stockmann proclaims is dramatically proper, not philosophically sound; what, granted the circumstances, he would have said, not what he ought to have said or, perhaps, what even he would have said a week later. But it is also, very decidedly, what Ibsen wanted him to say at this point, and if Ibsen was willing to take the risk of being misinterpreted by those without imagination or humor he ought to be allowed the privilege of running that risk today.

Bowdlerization is bowdlerization whether its alleged intention is to protect the sensibilities of the ultra-pure or the equally tender sensibilities of the right thinkers, and Ibsen has as much right to his kind of improper joke as Shakespeare has to another. In this day that right is rather more important, for the public which is no longer shocked by improprieties of one sort is assumed to be incapable of surviving exposure to those of another. Ibsen may not be Shakespeare, and his text may not be sacred, but at a time when we boast the importance of free speaking, even the semi-classics ought not to be tampered with in the supposed interest of the proprieties. The least that a consistent liberal can do is cultivate a certain tough-mindedness in the face of the heresies of which he does not approve, since without such tough-mindedness he is certain to find the "limits of free speech" very close to the point where personal disagreement begins. And a play about free speech seems to afford a singularly inappropriate occasion for the exercise of censorship by a liberal. In practice the degree of actual freedom we enjoy depends a great deal on the existing atmosphere. Such enterprises as Mr. Miller's do not serve to improve that atmosphere.

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The Lady of the Lamp

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE: 1820-1910. By Cecil Woodham-Smith, McGraw-Hill Book Company. $4.50.

ONE of the perpetually astonishing features of the Victorian Age is its luck in having been able to produce a giant to perform each of the enormous tasks that needed to be done to transform the world of 1830 into the world of 1900. The doubts, agonies, and soul-sickness of the nineteenth century had their complement in this immense genius for energy and enterprise. Engineering, sanitation, common-school and university reform, colonial administration, industrial management, scientific invention and technology—each of these practical orders of ingenuity, not to mention the biology, physics, chemistry, and medical research that gave them their basis in theory and method, produced its Titan, some of them a whole company of Titans. Even nursing found its special genius to rescue it from the hands of the drunkards, prostitutes, and thieves who kept it in disrepute in the days of Sairey Gamp and Betsey Prig, and when she arrived to tackle the labor she rightly called "Herculean," she proved to be one of the greatest giants of them all. More than a giant, she was a woman of radical and magnificent character whom any earlier age would have called a saint and who did not miss that appellation even among her material-minded contemporaries.

Florence Nightingale has already been served by a huge literature of biography, controversy, and hagiography, dating from the first hour of

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her fame in the Crimean War. Sir Edward Cook's admirable biography of 1913 has stood for almost forty years as the standard authority on its subject, and in 1918 Lytton Strachey published the celebrated essay in "Eminent Victorians" by which most modern readers have come to know the Nightingale legend. Cook erected the noble monument, Strachey the modern image; but both these works have needed correction. Cook's book was written under certain family restraints and without access to fundamental documents, notably the important Verney papers; and Strachey's attractive essay found its clue to its heroine's character in a theory of daemonic possession—not a bad theory to explain a woman of Miss Nightingale's incredible energy and will power, but unfortunately at odds with the facts of her supremely practical ability, her far from daemonic or self-deluded religious nature, and her tenacious sanity. Now Mrs. Woodham-Smith has supplied this correction in a book which ranks as one of the finest pieces of biographical and Victorian research to appear in recent years, and altogether an enthralling book.

The combination of circumstances and capacities that produced Florence Nightingale and bred her genius is so typically Victorian that it will always be difficult to detach her from her period, though it is certainly one of the effects of Mrs. Woodham-Smith's balanced and objective portrait to show her as a woman who dominated and escaped from her age rather than remained a creature of it. It needed a particular set of conditions to give her career its historic force: the wealthy but entail-shackled family; the charming, disappointed father determined to educate his two daughters himself and so save them from the frivolity of Victorian girlhood; the trivially ambitious mother and jealous sister who created a typically Victorian family neurosis; the dilettante suitors—Monckton Milnes and others—who could offer Florence little but a repetition of futile conformity; and then, to rescue her genius from these, the urgency of her long-suppressed vocation, the scandalous condition of contemporary medicine and sanitation thrown into sudden prominence by the war in the Crimea, the hell of the hospital at Scutari into which she descended to perform her tremendous labors, the inefficient War Office and hostile political factions that fought her reforms, her persistence and triumph in the face of these, the gradual extension of her influence to the Royal Commission, the India Office, hospital organization, the Institute for Nurses, the international Red Cross; and at last the world-wide fame and authority that crowned her efforts.

Miss Nightingale's sixty years of activity bridged an era in civilization and social progress. She had to fight reaction and vested interests every step of the way. She was perfectly aware of her symbolic function as an agent of decency and justice, and she recorded that awareness not only in her voluminous reports and professional scriptures but in the equally voluminous letters, chits, and almost hourly memoranda in which she bared her mind and soul to posterity. And her religious passion, whose mystic and visionary tendencies were firmly tethered by self-criticism and an ironic sense of proportion, added the inspiration of unselfishness to an always necessary and sometimes brutal kind of self-assertion. The mires of intrigue, jealousy, and obstruction through which she had to wade were no less formidable than the miasmas of emotionalism, religiosity, and obsession she had to master in herself and her associates; and her final triumph becomes an epitome of the public and psychic drama that defines the particular quality of Victorian heroism.

The tact, patience, and scrupulous use of evidence with which Mrs. Woodham-Smith has recounted Miss Nightingale's life make her book a distinguished social document, not only beautifully readable but a revelation of much more than its specific subject. It is a work that shares the distinction of Halévy's histories, the personal records of Mill, Butler, and Mrs. Webb, Gosse's "Father and Son," and Shaw's prefaces, memoirs, and "Intelligent Woman's Guide" in what it does to illuminate the moral drama of the nineteenth century and to explain the personal genius that saved it from its confusions and errors. It is one of the best biographies of the past decade and an important addition to the documents that serve the history of the past hundred years.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

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Politics by Other Means

THE POLITICS OF MURDER. By Joseph Bornstein. William Sloane Associates. $4.

THE politicalization of every sphere of existence is a basic feature of totalitarianism. When Lenin seized on Clausewitz's maxim that war is only politics carried on by other means and made it into a Bolshevik shibboleth, he was transforming what is a fairly accurate description of most, but not all, modern wars into a principle of totalitarian *Realpolitik*, the latest application of which we can see today in Korea. Hitler was born with this principle in his bones. It is the point of Mr. Bornstein's book that for totalitarianism murder too is only politics carried on by other means.

Like diplomats' illnesses in a bygone age, death in totalitarian countries has not that natural simplicity which the communiqués make it out to have. Rommel, it was announced, succumbed to an ailment which had long afflicted him. It is true that he had been a sick man for years; but the world learned later that it was not bacilli but a bullet that killed him. Frunze, Trotsky's successor as Commissar of War, "died under an operation which his own physican had declared to be senseless and, in view of Frunze's heart condition, dangerous. It subsequently transpired that a decision of the Politburo forced Frunze to submit to the knife." According to Mr. Bornstein, there are grounds for suspecting—though it cannot be proved—that Lenin himself was poisoned by Stalin. At any rate it is not "unthinkable" that this could actually have happened. Apart from the direct evidence for this suspicion, there is the fact that Public Prosecutor Vishinsky, at the trial of the former pharmacist and chief of the GPU, Yagoda, "thought" to accuse him of having poisoned—with the assistance of four physicians, one of whom had had Lenin for a patient from 1920 to 1923—Maxim Gorky, Gorky's son, Yagoda's predecessor Menzhinsky, and Kuibyshev, a member of the Politburo. All these people had been supposed to have died a natural death. Yagoda and the three surviving physicians confessed that the charges were true and were duly convicted.

These confessions, like all the others obtained before and after, were undoubtedly false; but they show the atmosphere of intrigue in which the minds of high Soviet politicians are accustomed to move. And then there is Stalin's well-known propensity to impute to others his own motives and crimes. Trotsky's assassin had a statement in his pocket—composed by a higher GPU hand, it would seem, for he was ill-acquainted with its contents—giving as his reason for the deed Trotsky's having proposed to him to organize the assassination of—Stalin!

Mr. Bornstein's book offers additional evidence that Stalinist control of Russian society is far more "total" than was Nazi and Fascist control of Germany and Italy, the latter regimes having made up the difference by the exercise of naked force. As the author remarks, Stalin inside Russia can encompass the destruction of whomsoever he pleases by legal means—either by administrative ukase or by judicial murder; whereas Hitler and Mussolini had to rely more on outright gangsterism. The assassination of Matteoti was a slipshod affair that brought Mussolini more immediate embarrassment than profit; the Reichstag-fire trial, a piece of bungling in comparison with the Moscow trials; and the purge of Röhm and his followers, a gang killing pure and simple, legalized by the Reichstag after the fact. Hitler purged his generals in the late stages of the war, only after they had made an attempt on his life; Stalin, more prudent, had seen to this matter well in advance of events.

Most of the cases Mr. Bornstein discusses fall into the long-established genres of assassination: individual terror (King Alexander and Barthou); Roman proscription (Röhm, Schleicher, and the other victims of June 30, 1934); attempted coup d'état (Dollfuss). It is only in the slaying of Trotsky and the renegade GPU agent Ignace Reiss that one encounters a new and distinctive type of the *crime de politique*. In these two cases the immense resources of a powerful government were concentrated upon the destruction of a single individual outside of its official reach. Large numbers of people and many organizations cooperated to bring the assassin to his victim. It of course proved impossible to lay hands upon the real culprits or even the local directing agent; once the deed was done the entire "apparatus" for accomplishing the crime was swallowed up with scarcely a trace in the regular international Communist organizations and Soviet agencies.

Politics in the end proved to be the means by which the GPU reached to both Reiss and Trotsky. Reiss, after breaking with the GPU in 1937, attempted to win over others whom he suspected of wavering in their loyalty; he arranged a meeting in Switzerland with one such person, an old friend and colleague in the GPU who had tearfully commiserated with him in 1936 over the news of the first Moscow trial, and this person treacherously led the assassins to him. Jacson, the murderer of Trotsky, gained a limited sort of entrée to the latter's establishment in Mexico as the lover of the sister of one of Trotsky's secretaries. But it was not until Trotsky,

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reluctantly but dutifully, sat down with Jacson to go over an article this nullity —literally as well as figuratively, for his identity has never been established— had written in defense of Trotsky's position in a factional struggle then going on in the Trotskyist organization, that the assassin found his opportunity to strike. There is a dreadful irony in the circumstances of Trotsky's end, one that shows how shrewdly his antagonist could judge him.

Mr. Bornstein's work helps to show how integral a part murder is of totalitarian politics—politics carried on by other means, as I have said—although he nowhere attempts to go very deeply into the matter, contenting himself with indicating rather sketchily the political aspects of the cases he considers and concentrating on their technical details, which to be sure are interesting enough. One would like to see what a more philosophical pen would make of this important subject.

MARTIN GREENBERG

Two English Novels

A GAME OF HIDE AND SEEK. By Elizabeth Taylor. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

DARKNESS AND DAY. By Ivy Compton-Burnett. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

THOUGH its theme and the predicament it explores are reminiscent of the early fiction of E. M. Forster and Rosamond Lehmann, Elizabeth Taylor's fifth novel is wonderfully fresh. Like every Forster heroine except Margaret Schlegel, Harriet Claridge suffers from an undeveloped heart and an unawakened sensibility. Here the immediate resemblance ends. Harriet has no need to rebel against middle-class convention. Her situation is more complex. The milieu which stifles her is enlightened: Fabian, suffragette, vegetarian, mildly intellectual, it admires the "sensible" and deplores the irrational in human conduct. The *mores* of the sensible, of course, can be quite as stultifying as the *mores* of Sawston. Nor does she have the good luck of most of Forster's young women. There is no Pan-like young man lurking in the undergrowth to shock her into life. Her Vesey is a Peter Pan, helpless in the face of his own charm and his diffused talents. He doesn't want her in all the inarticulate wonder and wild desire of her late adolescence, but after she has been married for sixteen years he gets around to a tentative affair which fizzles out in hopelessness. It is too late; they are too worn by life.

From the confused adoration of adolescence to the awakening of middle age the portrait of Harriet is a triumph of veracity. Girl and woman, she is passive, emotionally gawky, even rather dull, and, for all this, intensely interesting. The opening section of "A Game of Hide and Seek" is a fine realization of one variety of first love. So original is the sensibility which re-creates it that one forgets that since "Dusty Answer" it has been a staple of English fiction.

Miss Taylor is faithful to her vision of the emotional impotence which is likely to issue from such love. Marriage, a child, and life in the suburbs confirm Harriet in her passivity. Only when the beloved reappears, considerably battered, does this unpromising heroine grow out of inarticulate dulled suffering into awareness. But she is no Nora Helmer; she slams no doors; she returns to the husband she has left. She has left him only for an afternoon. Although her awakening will not alter her outward existence, she has come entirely, if fruitlessly, to life.

This book is *written;* the prose falls trippingly on the ear, saying exactly what it means without any pretense. Sometimes too little is left to the reader's imagination: "What they thought was heaven would seem like hell to them in later life," Miss Taylor tells us of Harriet and Vesey when they are eighteen, a sentence which should have gone unwritten, for it sums up their experience. But usually the writing is first-rate. Notice, especially, an episode in a deserted farmhouse when the lovers contrive to evade the embrace which might have saved them; and, for Miss Taylor is also adept at re-creating the fleeting delights of life, a shopping expedition, all joyous emotional confusion for Harriet, on which Vesey corrupts his younger and vegetarian cousins with chops.

Reading through the garland of praises on the jacket of "Darkness and Day" and looking back to my reviews of two earlier novels, it becomes clear to me that, so far, no one has penetrated the heart of Ivy Compton-Burnett's particular matter. One needs, I suspect, to examine her work in its entirety—this is her thirteenth novel—to find out if she is engaged in the most subtle variations on a few themes or if, for all her brilliance and however entertainingly, she is repeating herself. This latest book is a slighter version of "Bullivant and the Lambs" and "Two Worlds and Their Ways," though perhaps none the worse for it. The plot, threatening complexity, turns out to be simple. It begins with a false dénouement; there follows a slow unfolding of "what really happened." The setting, like that of the earlier books, is an isolated country house, or rather two country houses; the period is late Victorian. As usual, the talk is unflaggingly brilliant, for in this world it is really possible for human beings to communicate with one another. Just underneath the urbane and glittering surfaces—I have spoken of this contrast before—are depths of passion and despair.

What I now find most engrossing about Miss Compton-Burnett's writing is the moral quality of her imagination

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and her never-relaxed concern with the moral problems she deliberately contrives out of her preposterous plots. "We have done a wrong to ourselves and each other," says Edmund Lovat, who believes, mistakenly, that he has married his illegitimate daughter, "done it in innocence. We have done no harm to anyone else, I trust none to ourselves." This careful discrimination between "wrong" and "harm" is typical of an intellectual gambit radical to these novels. Miss Compton-Burnett's subject matter—oddly, it is customary to speak of the limited scope of her fiction—is good and evil in human conduct. She is devoted to the moral cliché, taking it up and looking at it closely, toying with it, mocking it, and, in her wisdom, never forgetting that it is usually a relation, however poor, of the eternal verities. Consider the wisdom of the cook in "Darkness and Day":

"Well, Mrs. Spruce, what do you really think of the things that lurk about us?" said Fanshawe.

"Miss Fanshawe, I think that hardness and harsh judgment are more detrimental to us than the sins to which the flesh is heir. I should be inclined to condemn the first and condone the second. I make it no secret."

The central interest of this fiction does not lie in its remarkable play of wit, so admired by the blurb-writers, but in its serious examination of such verities—usually they are more complex—and in its power to dramatize them.

ERNEST JONES

The Rich Man's Revival

THE OXFORD GROUP: ITS HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE. By Walter Houston Clark. Bookman Associates, $3.50.

THIS scholarly and admirably balanced study is by all odds the best account of the Oxford Group which has yet appeared. The early history of the movement is carefully reconstructed; the origin of the Group's ideas is traced out in a most satisfactory manner; and the extraordinary personality of Frank Buchman is vividly delineated. The book also contains some extremely interesting "case histories" which reflect the impact of the movement on a representative sample of early "groupists."

This entirely sympathetic study confirms what critics of the movement have consistently maintained—namely, that the Oxford Group is an upper-class or rich man's revival. Over a decade ago Reinhold Niebuhr took the accurate measure of the Oxford Group: "The idea is that if a man of power is converted, God will be able to control a larger area of human life through his power than if a little man were converted." The Oxford Group, as Dr. Niebuhr then pointed out, was merely "an additional evidence of the decay in which we stand."

Dr. Clark concedes that the movement's primary appeal is to the rich and highly placed, but he offers a satisfactory explanation of this appeal: the churches of the upper classes have long since lost their vitality. Thus at the upper level the "cults" draw recruits from the orthodox church groups just as at the lower level the "sects" are able to draw recruits from the same groups and for much the same reason. The upper classes are really not much more "secure" in our society than the lower classes; they too have their problems, anxieties, and neuroses. The Oxford Group skilfully caters to the religious and emotional needs of the upper classes and also, of course, to their prejudices. For example, the movement has always been blind to social evils, and even this friendly historian concedes its right-wing bias. Nevertheless, the movement has a great deal to tell us—and most of it is well told here—about the weaknesses and ailments of contemporary society and its churches.

Although Dr. Clark's analysis of the reasons why the Oxford Group appeals to certain elements of the upper classes is quite convincing, he somehow fails to see that revivalism—even upper-class revivalism—has succeeded most spectacularly when there was strong reason for stressing individual "sin" rather than social action; or, to put it more sharply, when there were compelling reasons to divert the individual's attention from social evils by making him morbidly conscious of his personal sins. Dr. Clark, for example, feels that the Oxford movement is "definitely weak" on the intellectual side and that its indifference to social evil is a form of moral obtuseness. But it can be more plausibly argued that indifference to social evil is a prime characteristic of all revival movements and that the failure of revivals to stress intellectual concerns is a deliberate tactic and not a "weakness."

All the same, here is a fascinating study of one of the most interesting modern cults—a study worth reading for its inherent interest as well as for the light it sheds on important theoretical issues.

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FACTS ON FILM

BY MARY ANNE GUITAR

A LARGE part of the powerful effect of good documentaries comes from their forceful presentation of an idea; there is little room for ambiguity. Perhaps this is why the United Nations films seem so impressive. When they do fall short of the mark, the reason is not lack of professional skill or the absence of good material but an uncertainty about just what they can say on film.

The teams which produced these films must have been in the position of a producer with so many bosses that he was bound to alienate someone. The safest course would be to document problems about which there would be little dissension. That is substantially what was done.

"Defense of the Peace" (twelve minutes) analyzes the structure of the U. N. "There Shall Be Peace" (ten minutes) tells the story of the United Nations' birth. "Tomorrow Begins Today" (ten minutes) shows member nations in action working on common problems. "The People's Charter" (seventeen minutes) does the same kind of job in more detail. "Searchlight on the Nations" (seventeen minutes) discusses the vast communications machinery of the U. N. "Clearing the Way" (twenty minutes) humanizes the construction job that has resulted in Manhattan's U. N. building.

If the U. N. films were devoted exclusively to self-promotion, they might be rather pompous and of only academic interest. But this is not the case. Most of the productions are distinguished by really superior visual material shot on location in all parts of the world. The topics may be "safe" ones, but the treatment distinguishes the films from run-of-the-mill documentaries.

"Crossroads" (thirty-three minutes), an exploration into the minds of disturbed children, ranks with the best that has been done on this subject. It is even better than "The Quiet One" in suspense, characterization, and camera work. The opening scene is a highly effective chase of the "delinquent" by two police officers. The boy's history—his bad relationship with his stepfather, his illegitimacy, his lack of direction—is told in snatches as he goes through the unsympathetic cross-examination by a court. After rehabilitation in an institution he is reunited with his family, which has presumably been reeducated enough to accept him as a person. Other case histories are woven into the film, and this is where it gains power. There are some rare photographs of children caught off guard emotionally. The "message" seems to be that through international cooperation all nations can devise better ways of helping disturbed children. An older film, "First Steps" (eleven minutes), which won the Academy award for the best short documentary, is also worth seeing. Made as a pictorial record of therapy for crippled children, it has an emotional appeal that transcends its message.

Even when the subject is a vast and complex one, the producers make it moving by focusing on a single family or individual. "That All May Learn" (nineteen minutes) shows UNESCO's work in eradicating illiteracy by picturing a Mexican farmer and his family. "U. N. at Work" (seventeen minutes) shows how the International Children's Emergency Fund functions in special cases. "Green Gold" (twenty-two minutes), a study of timber problems, is reminiscent of a fine pictorial documentary like "The River," and is a beautiful job. "Home of the Homeless" (ten minutes), the first formal representation of the work of the International Refugee Organization of the U. N., tells the story of a day in the life of a D. P. This was filmed at a camp near Munich. It was written by Samuel Spewack and narrated by Henry Fonda.

Timely reports on the U. N.'s current activities are given in the so-called "screen magazines." One of the best, "Screen Magazine 3," was devoted to an earthquake in Ecuador which challenged the United Nations relief and rehabilitation agencies. Others giving "the U. N. story behind the headlines" have been entitled "Need for Accord on Atomic Energy," "Unique Method of Interpretation Assists at U. N. Meetings," "U. N. Children's Emergency Fund Helps Feed Six Million Children."

The names of regional dealers who distribute the films may be obtained from the U. N. The New York distributor is Association Films, 35 West Forty-fifth Street. Films running ten minutes cost $2.50 a day; twenty minutes, $4; thirty minutes or more, $6.

Drama Note

MARGARET WEBSTER'S productions of Shakespeare, though one may quarrel with some of her interpretations, are always knowing and intelligent and always done *con amore*. It is obvious that Miss Webster loves the Old Boy and considers his plays good theater as well as high art. Her production of "The Taming of the Shrew"—which I'm told a Washington theater advertised as the original version of "Kiss Me Kate"—is the first offering of the spring season at the New York City Center. I thought it could have been a bit less rowdy and raucous; yet I suspect that the play might have been performed pretty much this way at the Globe Theater, and the sense of authenticity made up for some of the excesses.

I did feel, however, that the direction was unfair to Claire Luce, who plays the part of Katherina. She is allowed only one facial expression—a mean look and a fierce one—to denote her shrewishness, and apart from the fact that shrewishness may have a

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variety of faces, some of them quite attractive, Miss Luce's one expression gets monotonous and less and less effective. She is allowed more scope in the last scene, but more subtlety throughout would improve her characterization. Ralph Clanton makes an appropriately handsome and swashbuckling Petruchio; Susan Douglas, a pretty and winsome Bianca. Among the other performers, I liked Larry Gates as Sly, Dion Allen as Grumio, and Don Somers as the Pedant. MARGARET MARSHALL

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

ROBERT E. GARIS writes from London about a Sadler's Wells performance of "Cosi Fan Tutte" which showed the two sides of the question of opera in English with complete clarity. "The recitatives were excellent; one heard every word, and knew what was going on"—though one also acquired, incidentally, "a lucid insight into the failings of diction, intonation, and acting of the average opera star." But in the musical portions the results were bad. The translation was bad, to begin with; and "what good does it do to give the audience the bare sense, sometimes wrong, of what is being said, when all the time its feelings are being corrupted by the Ella Wheeler Wilcox sensibility displayed in the words themselves? None; and a lot of harm. Even its most ill-educated member must feel some disparity between the supposed elegance of the situations and the vulgarity of the language in which they are carried on; and since we are naturally more immediately responsive to words than to music, the one impression must in the end crowd out the other, so that the audience is hearing, essentially, not a great work of art but a third-rate farce. . . . Then the words, half the time, and especially in an opera with much florid vocal writing, can't be heard anyway, so there's that additional tax on the attention, to strain to hear something not worth hearing. And in the concerted numbers everything is a jumble." To which I would say: what is the good of even a distinguished translation if, even in a small theater like Sadler's Wells (to say nothing of a huge one like the Metropolitan), the words can't be heard half the time in the arias and are a jumble in the concerted numbers, and thus are only an additional tax on the attention distracting it from the music?

It seems to Mr. Garis that if the opera had been sung in Italian the singers "would have risen to the occasion, put on a little more dignity and grace and elegance . . . and given a more refined performance." Instead there was "coarse burlesque . . . and no respect for those moments in which, through the silliness of the women, the fatuousness of the men, comes the real tenderness of people in love: for instance, during that wonderful farewell quintet in the first act peasant types in the background horsed about with parody embraces. In short, such constant distractions of the average audience's tiny powers of attention to music as to show that the aim was to send the audience away amused, if nothing else."

If Mr. Garis had attended the recent performance of "Don Giovanni" (in Italian) by the New York City Opera Company that I attended he would have found the principals—Pease, Petrak, Jongeyans, Faull, Likova, Haskins, Renan—indeed rising to the occasion with singing and, for the most part, acting of great distinction. But he also would have found the audience's attention pulled away from them with the "constant distractions" devised by the stage director: the explicit acting out of Don Giovanni entering Donna Anna's bedroom during Leporello's singing of *Notte e giorna faticar,* the introduction of active and involved bystanders for Donna Elvira's *Ah! qui mi dice mai,* with the additional by-play of the innkeeper and his shrewish wife during Leporello's Catalogue Aria, and so on. And by the time he got to the final scene, in which there were some newly introduced prancing demons but only a somewhat smeared up Commandant who was not a terrifying stone statue, Mr. Garis would have discovered that stage direction in the New York City Opera Company is a matter of thinking up distracting monkey-business, not of taking care of essentials like make-up.

He would have discovered this all over again at the last performance of "Die Meistersinger"—in the make-up and wigs of some of the mastersingers. Beckmesser's orange-colored wig of last fall was gone this time; but the stage director had had no time to notice that for the face of Pogner framed in gray wig and beard Scott's nose was too small; while Pease's face was still insufficiently lined and his wig and beard insufficiently gray and his appearance therefore still too youthful for Sachs. But even with this handicap, and with the further handicap of a beautiful light baritone instead of the deeper, weightier, and darker voice the part calls for, Pease's Sachs is one of the most completely achieved, effective, and moving performances in my experience. Scott's rich bass made him an excellent Pogner; Spence, Bible, Petrak, Sprinzena, and Herbert sang well, but except for Herbert were not convincing to the eye; the orchestra's playing under Rosenstock was more precise and finished this time.

At this point I received a letter from someone who had heard the Little Orchestra Society performances (in Eng-

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lish) of "The Abduction from the Seraglio" and "Così Fan Tutte," and who reported that even in an auditorium as intimate as Town Hall he had "great difficulty in making out sentences or meaningful patterns of words, even when these were mouthed by an all-American cast," and that "it was absolutely impossible to understand anything at all in the ensembles, which are the focal points of Mozart operas." More important, he thought, was the fact that what the audience did hear of the words caused it to laugh at wrong places—that "moments of exquisite loveliness in the score were drowned by laughter brought on by slangy or contemporary expressions. The urge to put in laughs is too great for the librettist to resist, especially when he has little or no feeling for the music"—which he had found true of all the Mozart translations he had heard. In his opinion "the process of transforming the language of the librettos into contemporary or stilted English translations is like reorchestrating the score so that flutes are replaced by tubas and clarinets by tonettes." And where, at the Metropolitan, the casts have to include foreign singers, there will again be laughter at wrong places over things like Erna Berger's opening phrase of *Ach, ich liebte* in last year's "The Abduction," which my reader says came out as "Vas Oi hoppy, vid moi lufver."

CONTRIBUTORS

MARIANNE MOORE is the author of several books of poetry, including "Nevertheless" and 'What Are Years."

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Stepmother Tongue

Dear Sirs: Albert Guérard in *The Nation* of March 31 quotes I. A. Richards on an international language: "It must be clear from any threat to the economic, cultural, social, or political status or independence of any person or any people. It must carry no implication of intellectual, technological, or other domination."

There is just one language which fulfils these requirements. It is a rich, supple language with a great history and literature, and for centuries it *was* an international language. That is Latin.

If through UNESCO or some other agency every school in the United Nations taught Latin from the very beginning in addition to the native tongue, within a generation we should have an international language far superior to any manufactured substitute. Anybody who can learn Esperanto can learn Latin. It lends itself easily to modern technical terms. It is the common mother or stepmother tongue of half the civilized world. Even in this letter I count thirty-one words of Latin origin!

MIRIAM ALLEN DEFORD

San Francisco, Cal., April 8

Why Not Spanish?

Dear Sirs: It is good to note the persistent and continuous attacks on the international-language problem. There seems to be common international, though informal, agreement that a world language is necessary to supplement national languages if the people of the world are really to understand one another.

"Interlingua-English," referred to by Albert Guérard in his interesting essay, like Esperanto, Volapük, and other international languages, is an effort in the right direction. But why something new? Invention always carries with it the necessity of development and improvement. That in itself may take almost as much time as it takes a natural language itself to get under way. Why not do the same with an already existing language? No, I am not parading the usual international-language candidates, English or French, which Mr. Guérard points out are too saturated with inconsistencies. I suggest rather a cleaned-up Spanish with the more lucid pronunciation of Colombia or Mexico rather than of Spain.

Spanish as a supplementary world language has much in its favor. First, it is by and large a logical language. Its comparatively few exceptions to the rule, particularly in the conjugations, could easily be replaced by logical formations. Thus *yo se* (I know) could easily give way to *yo sabo* to become consistent with the regular conjugations. Furthermore, Spanish has a much more easily recognizable Latin base than English or French, or even Italian; and it is perhaps the most phonetic language there is. With a little correction, it could be made completely so.

As for other qualities, Spanish already has a rich literature, folklore, and idiom. It avoids the hard mechanics and soulless quality that mark an artificial language. The impetus that "Interspan"—if I may be permitted to coin a word—would get from the fact that a large number of nations already use Spanish would go a long way toward establishing it as a functional world language.

J. BENTLEY LIGHTMAN

Paris, April 20

Lincoln in Interlingua

Seniores: Permitte me de submitter a vostre lectores un problema apparentemente pedantic sed realmente de considerabile interesse historic. Tentante un traduction in interlingua del famose passage in le discurso de Gettysburg per Abraham Lincoln, *"of the people, by the people, for the people,"* io nota con surprisa que le distinction logic del tres aspectos indicate per le prepositiones *"of", "by",* e *"for",* es quasi impossibile. Que significa le constatation que le governamento es "del populo," "per le populo," e "pro le populo"?

Post alicun cogitation io crede que le mysterio pote esser resolvite per un accentuation differente que reduce le triplice a un duplice constatation. Le idea non es que le governamento debe esser un governamento del populo, per le populo, e pro le populo sed plus tosto que le governamento del populo debe esser un governamento per le populo e pro le populo. —Iste interpretation es sin dubito multo plus plausibile, sed es illo correcte? Ha alicuno inter vos lectores

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ART

SUMMER SCHOOL OF ART, July, August. Write: George Holt, North Bennington, Vermont.

informationes o observationes historic a contribuer que pote clarificar pro me iste fascinante question?

ALEXANDER GODE,
Director of Research, Institute of Interlinguistics, Columbia University

New York, April 12

Save the Public School!

Dear Sirs: The people of America are soon going to be faced with very crucial decisions regarding their public schools. I have in mind the problem presented by the attitude of the Roman Catholic church. Here in New England it is becoming increasingly evident that the hostility of the church for our public schools is quite similar to its hostility for public schools in Europe.

If anyone doubts that this is a very real threat, let him examine the state of the public schools in many cities and towns in New England. In some hardly a new public school has been built in half a century. Only the bare minimum required by law is spent. In short, our system of education is under attack.

We cannot afford to let one of the most powerful American contributions to man's struggle for freedom, the public school, disappear from the scene.

WALTER C. BATES

Torrington, Conn., April 24

Presidential Tenure

Dear Sirs: Your editorial The Two-Term Limit (March 10) pointed out that some persons whose motives are beyond question have favored the new amendment limiting Presidential tenure because of "the Jeffersonian fear that the power of a President can become self-perpetuating" and answered them by saying that "what Jefferson feared was that the country might succumb to monarchy," but that "between the people of the United States and autocratic rule in this country are not the mechanics of election but the degree of vitality left in the Bill of Rights."

It is appropriate, however, to point out, as the editorial does not, that Jefferson's strong distaste for "perpetual reeligibility of the President," as he expressed it in a letter to Washington, was an early reaction to the as yet unratified document. "As time went on," Claude G. Bowers says in "The Young Jefferson," "Jefferson's fear of a monarchy resulting from the reeligibility of the President subsided and died out entirely; and when, years later, he could have had a third term, he based his declination not on principle but on his health and declining powers."

The new amendment is a violation of the Jeffersonian doctrine that each generation should make its own laws: an amendment added to the Constitution by one generation may be difficult for another to subtract.

PAUL J. SCHEIPS

Shalimar, Fla., April 5

Conscientious Objectors

Dear Sirs: A large number of sincere conscientious objectors are being either pulled into the army or forced into civil disobedience because of lack of knowledge of the legal provisions made for them. A large number also are being left out of the legal provisions because of the law's narrow insistence on belief in a "supreme being" as the only basis for a valid claim.

Those who do fit into the framework set up by Congress are faced with another dilemma. The process by which a conscientious objector makes his claim and appeals his case if his claim is not granted by his draft board is a complicated one. Anyone not certain how to make such a claim should get in touch with the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors at 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania, or with one of the regional offices of the Fellowship of Reconciliation at 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32; 740 North Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois; 4033 University Way, Seattle, Washington; or 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, California.

JAMES B. OSGOOD

Chicago, Ill., April 23

Harold Laski Scholarship

Dear Sirs: The National Executive Committee of the Labor Party has decided to launch an appeal for funds to raise a capital sum the income from which will be sufficient, it is hoped, to maintain an annual traveling scholarship to commemorate the work of Harold Laski.

Donations from readers of *The Nation* will be greatly appreciated. They should be sent to Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the Labor Party, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1.

G. WILLIAMS,
Secretary's Department

London, April 9

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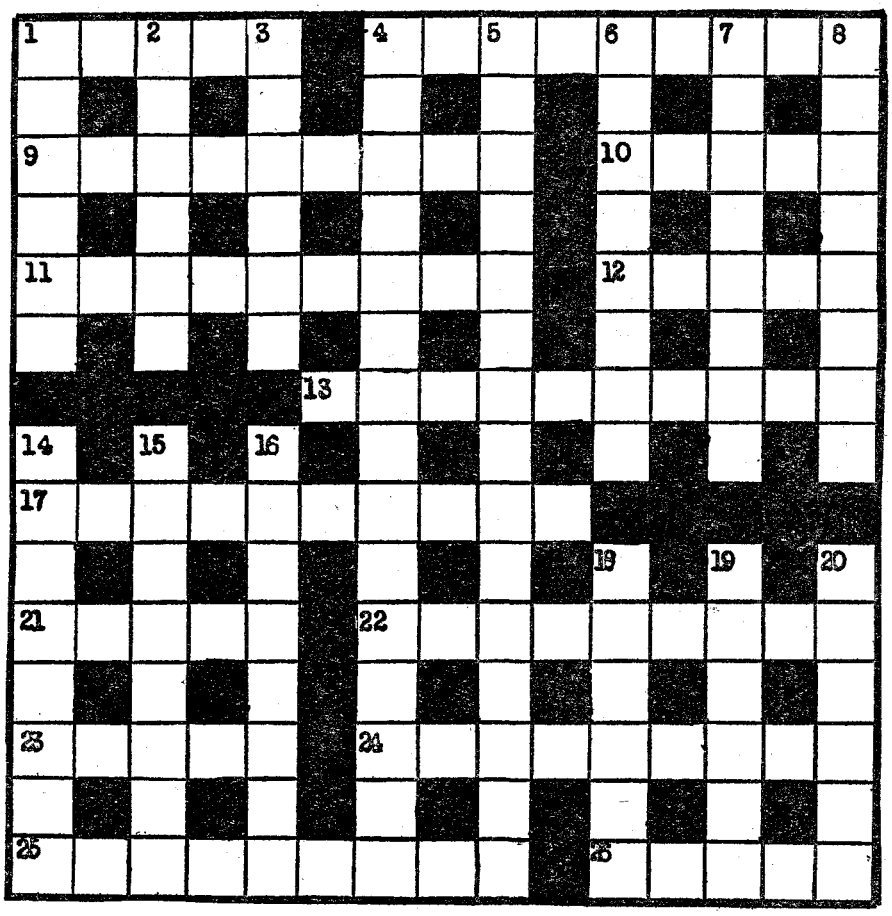
Crossword Puzzle No. 411

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 20 down
4 Donald Duck was a gay one! (9)
9 See 20 down
10 Nothing may be removed from the battleship! (5)
11 Scott's blessed pine. (9)
12 Stray goat in part. (5)
13 Scotsman? Make a hole-in-one with an African. (10)
17 Clear people out of the contest! (6-4)
21 A girl fared badly, it seems. (5)
22 One hopes Baby Buntings's daddy didn't catch it. (9)
23 The place for Scotch fire. (5)
24 Sounds like what the scales shouldn't do. (3, 2, 4)
25 The better bred and the better bread should both have it. (4, 5)
26 It's to be admitted. (5)

DOWN

1 Counterbalance. (6)
2 Hacked, perhaps. (6)
3 Supposed to be as good as a feast. (6)
4 Narrated in pilgrim's progress. (10, 5)
5 Seeing clubs lose makes the trade school uncertain. (8, 7)
6 Certainly not a man-of-war. (8)
7 Such devices usually imply current expenditures. (8)
8 Ask the waitress for a mixed drink. (8)
14 Teasing, more loud than annoying. (8)
15 These notes might be due one right after another. (8)
16 A talk she made of the universal solvent. (8)
18 Sounds like pictures of a Machiavellian character. (6)
19 A couple of points might change the tone of Hans' letters. (6)
20, 1 across and 9 across Head hunter? (6, 2, 3, 9)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 410

ACROSS:—1 DECORATOR; 6 and 19 PETTY LARCENY; 9 CARPETS; 10 and 24 DEALER'S CHOICE; 12 MOPPET; 13 ABBE; 15 MEDITATE; 16 UNBEND; 18 POLISH; 20 SOCIALLY; 23 EARS; 25 and 11 BANTAM; 28 ROEBUCK; 29 IMITATE; 30 EGYPT; 31 RUNNYMEDE.

DOWN:—1 DUCAT; 2 CAROMED; 3 RHEUMATISM; 4 TOSS-POTS; 5 REDDEN; 6 PLAY; 7 TREMBLE; 8 YESTERDAY; 14 INFIDELITY; 15 MAPLE TREE; 17 BOLIVIAN; 21 LABIATE; 22 SHAKER; 26 NIECE; 27 PUNT.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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How does it feel to be the victim of mob violence? Are law-abiding Jehovah's Witnesses entitled to due process in Tennessee? What do you do when the Mayor and the Sheriff admit that they are afraid to stop rampant hooliganism? Read this frightening report by a man who was run out of town for exercising the right of free speech.

By Marley Cole

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An analysis of the Beveridge Report on the British Broadcasting Corporation. American liberals have often expressed the belief that the abuses, inanity, and commercialism of radio in the United States could be eliminated if we were to adopt the British system of government ownership. The author, an expert in radio and communications, discusses the pros and cons of the English system as exposed in this monumental report of a Parliamentary committee.

By Charles A. Siepmann

The Railroads and the 14th Amendment

Since 1941 a steady stream of court decisions and administrative interpretations have worked to obtain equality of treatment for Negroes using American railroads. This article tells how the advances already made are encouraging victims of discrimination to stand up and fight.

By Dorothy Dunbar Bromley

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